

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE Republican Convention met at Cincinnati on Wednesday week, and adjourned on the following Friday after nominating Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President. The Presidential candidates formally proposed included all those who had been much talked of beforehand except Mr. E. B. Washburne and Mr. Wheeler, neither of whom received more than half-a-dozen scattering votes. The proceedings were characterized by much harmony and good-feeling, the extremely small number of contesting delegations contributing to this result. The Committee on Credentials excluded the so-called Spencer delegation from Alabama and the Shepherd delegation from the District of Columbia, and their report was finally adopted by the Convention. Six ballots were taken for President before any change of votes sufficient to influence the result took place; but on the seventh ballot, Morton, Conkling, Hartranft, and Bristow being all withdrawn, the Convention divided between Blaine and Hayes, giving 351 votes to the former and 334 votes to the latter.

The Republican platform adopted by the Convention on Thursday declares that the United States is "a nation, not a league"; that until the truths of the Declaration of Independence are "cheerfully obeyed" "the work of the Republican party is unfinished"; demands that Congress and the Executive shall pacify the South, protect the negro, enforce the recent amendments, and "put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class"; recalls the first act of Congress signed by General Grant, pledging the faith of the Government to make provision for the redemption of United States notes in coin at the earliest possible date, and demands that the promise be fulfilled "by a continuous and steady progress to specie payments"; insists that Congress should have nothing to do with appointments, which constitutionally belong elsewhere; rejoices in the "quickenened conscience of the people concerning political affairs," and promises speedy punishment for all who betray official trusts; recommends an amendment to the Constitution "forbidding the application of any public fund as property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control"; declares that the revenue should be "so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor, and advance the prosperity of the whole country"; opposes further land-grants, and demands that the Government lands be devoted to "free homes for the people"; demands protection for immigrants and for adopted citizens; declares it to be the immediate duty of Congress to "fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country"; recognizes the advance of woman towards equal rights, and declares her claim to further privileges entitled to "respectful consideration"; demands the extirpation of polygamy, and the fulfilment of the "pledges which the nation has given to our soldiers and sailors"; deprecates "all sectional feeling," and "notes with deep solicitude" the sectionalism of the Democrats; denounces the Democratic party for its rebel sympathies, for its repudiation proposals, for its "partisan mismanagement" as well as its "obstruction of investigation," and for having proved itself "utterly incompetent to administer the Government"; and finally thanks the Administration for its "honorable work," and General Grant for his "patriotism" and "immense services."

Two attempts were made to improve this platform, by striking out the Mongolian resolution and by inserting a plank pledging the party to resumption in 1879. Both were voted down without difficulty, and almost without debate. The Convention showed, in fact, no interest whatever in the platform, and a proposition made by one of the delegates to nominate first and make the platform afterwards was received with considerable approval, and only voted down because the leaders felt that, after all that had been said about reform and principle, it would be too barefaced a revelation of their real state of mind.

Many comic things occur at a nominating convention, but probably nothing so comic occurred at Cincinnati as the uproarious applause which greeted Senator Logan's announcement that the late exposures of corruption at Washington were the commencement of a "revolution" by the ex-rebels, consisting in "the assassination of the private character of every leading Republican in the land." We noticed that Mr. Blaine was disposed to take the same view of the matter in his defence in the House of Representatives, and seemed to maintain that the presence of "two rebel generals" on the Sub-Committee had some mysterious connection with the existence of his own letters to Mr. Fisher and with his operations in Little Rock and Fort Smith and Northern Pacific stock and bonds. Now, all this may be most excellent fooling, but it is still fooling. The people of the United States may be occasionally simple-minded, but they are not idiots, and it would take an enormous amount of eloquence to persuade them that it was the "rebels" who got Mr. Blaine into his railroad operations, or Mr. Belknap into his post-trader business, or Mr. Robeson into his Cattell relations, or Babcock into his whiskey dealings or safe-burglaries, or got up the Sanborn business, or put McDonald in office, or hired Jayne. The "rebels" must laugh consumedly when they hear that they are at the bottom of the various "investments" of our leading statesmen.

The Democratic Convention, which meets next week, will have its work rendered more difficult for it by the nominations at Cincinnati. It was the hope of the Democrats that Blaine would be nominated by the Republicans, in which case they would have had, in their own opinion, an easy victory. It is doubtful, however, whether they were right in this; for the nomination of Blaine would have led immediately to a Republican bolt, with results which it would have been difficult to predict. The same thing may be said of the results of the nomination of Morton or Conkling. But now the breach in the Republican ranks is entirely healed, and a candidate has been chosen who will probably enable the Republicans to carry the State of Ohio in October, and thus give the party a lift which will materially help it in the national struggle. Whether this can possibly be avoided by the Democrats is a very doubtful question, and, indeed, their only chance of carrying Ohio would be on a strong hard-money platform—which the Ohio Democrats would bitterly resent—and with a candidate who would draw off some Republican votes, if such a candidate could be found. If this hope is abandoned, the most important thing is the electoral vote of New York, and for that a strong hard-money candidate is necessary. The contest here, it is obvious, is not going to turn upon the platform, except so far as the platform is explained by the character of the candidates; and a strong effort will be made by the reform Republicans who have just succeeded in defeating the "machine," to get from Mr. Hayes such a letter of acceptance as will put some meaning into the platform on the two vital subjects of civil service and currency reform. This is now the only way in which the party can hope to remedy the blunder made in voting down the Resumption pledge and inserting the empty jargon about the civil service.

As the matter now stands, the Democrats will have no difficulty whatever in constructing a currency platform. They might simply repeat the performance at Cincinnati on this subject. All this points clearly to Tilden as their candidate, and the ablest and most disinterested Democrats plainly see this. But he will have against him the two-thirds rule, and the wonderful capacity his party has of late years developed of destroying its own chances by unmitigated folly.

General Belknap's counsel have made another attempt to obtain delay and a postponement until November, but without success. A postponement till after the Presidential election would have had so much the look of being in the defendant's interest that the Senate declined to grant it. The counsel refused to plead to the articles of impeachment, on the ground that General Belknap was substantially acquitted by the vote on the question of jurisdiction, as it fell short of two-thirds, and have presented a document setting forth this plea. This the Senate has ordered to be filed, and has voted to proceed with the trial on July 6, provided Congress be then in session, as on a plea of not guilty. The House has passed a joint resolution authorizing the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to appoint a commission to devise a new form of government for the District of Columbia, and what may be called a cognate bill for the repaving of Pennsylvania Avenue. The infamous bill to equalize bounties was also passed on Tuesday by this cheese-paring body. It will doubtless again receive its quietus in the Senate.

General Grant has sent to Congress a message urging immediate action on the appropriation bills. He calls the attention of both Houses to the near approach of a new fiscal year, and the failure of Congress to provide means to carry on the Government; quotes the Constitution and statutes to show that any outlay of public money after the expiration of the year for which the appropriations have been made is unlawful, except in the case of permanent appropriations; points out that the number of permanent appropriations is very limited, and covers but few of the necessary expenditures of the Government; declares that if the appropriation bills are not passed at once, the Government will be greatly embarrassed; and suggests by way of remedy the passage of a joint resolution extending the provisions of all appropriations for the present fiscal year to the next, in all cases when the new bills fail of passing before the 1st of July. This joint resolution would include the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, the Consular and Diplomatic, the Post-Office, and the Army and Navy Bills. The Democratic papers, which have been loudly applauding Mr. Randall's proposition to cut down the appropriations by \$40,000,000, are much displeased at this, and disposed to regard it as a piece of tyranny and improper interference with the prerogative of Congress. As the President is directed by the Constitution to "recommend from time to time" to Congress "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," these criticisms are very frivolous. The Democrats had an excellent opportunity when the session began of securing genuine economy in all branches of the service, but they have thrown it away by a blind and indiscriminate attack upon expenditures, like those for the salaries of West Point officers, and the Consulates, and the Signal Service, which are most necessary and beneficial. We trust that the Democrats in the Senate will not recede from the position they have taken on this subject, or allow themselves to be persuaded into believing that the country, when it denounces the extravagance of the Administration, means the extravagance of paying barely sufficient salaries to public servants, or of lighting the coasts to protect the commerce of the country, or of detailing a few soldiers to make scientific observations which annually prevent the destruction of millions of property.

The English Courts have released Winslow as well as Brent, the Louisville forger, having no alternative in the present state of the extradition question between the two countries. The President

has sent a message to Congress on the subject, giving a history of the two cases, announcing the release of the prisoners, and declaring that the position of the British Government, "if adhered to, cannot but be regarded as an abrogation and annulment of the article of the Treaty on extradition." Under those circumstances, he adds, it will not, in his judgment, "comport with the dignity or self-respect of this Government to make demands upon that Government for the surrender of fugitive criminals, nor to entertain any requisition of that character from that Government under the Treaty." He expresses deep regret at the possibility of such a termination of a treaty which has worked so well and so efficiently, and, notwithstanding the exciting and sometimes violent political controversies which have arisen in both countries, has given rise to no complaints. "Its violation or annulment would be a retrograde step in international intercourse." He says that he has tried to have a new and improved treaty made, enlarging the list of extraditable crimes, and introducing other amendments, but had felt it his duty "to decline to entertain a proposition made by Great Britain, pending its refusal to execute the existing Treaty, to amend it by practically conceding by treaty the identical conditions which that Government demands" (under the Act of 1870). The attitude of England he describes as a "menace of an intended violation," but throws out an intimation that this is not the only ground for our refusal to amend the Treaty, the inadvisability of treating of "only the one amendment proposed by Great Britain" being another. He therefore asks Congress to decide whether the Treaty shall or shall not be abrogated, and says, if the action of England remains unchanged, he shall not, without an expression of the wish of Congress, take any further action in extradition cases under the Treaty.

There is one thing which must have impressed the thoughtful and judicious during the late controversy over Mr. Blaine as very suggestive in more ways than one, and as by no means encouraging. In all the rejoicings over his reply to Mulligan, the mere fact of his not having confessed the truth of the charges and run away, and his having waylaid the witness, seized the letters, read them aloud in the House without flinching, and then attacked the Committee for suppressing a worthless despatch, are treated as amounting to a "vindication." In not one of the speeches or letters of his friends are the charges examined or explained, or, in fact, treated as of any consequence whatever. The answer to them is that Mr. Blaine is not afraid, that he was too much for the Committee, and that he is magnetic; and it will be observed that in all the comments on the matter at Cincinnati among the politicians, ending with General Hawley's speech at the ratification meeting, he is still treated as a spotless statesman, whom young men will do well to imitate. The Mulligan letters, if referred to at all, were referred to solely as something that would probably be damaging in a canvass, and not as something that at all lowered Mr. Blaine's standing in the Republican party. There can be little doubt that this throws a good deal of light on Belknap's case. Does it not make it clear that the reason Belknap is in disgrace and on his trial is that he is the only Republican statesman who has confessed to anything or shown any signs of shame or fear? Had he denied everything, blackguarded Marsh, bade the Committee come on, and denounced them as "rebels," would he not still be in the War Department and in good party standing? These questions would furnish much food for reflection.

The truth about the suppressed Caldwell despatch has at last come out, and it leaves no room for doubt as to where Mr. Blaine got his surprisingly accurate information of its existence. The telegram which Caldwell sent from London was not originally written by him at all, but by some one in Philadelphia, either Scott or some agent of his, with directions to repeat it to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. This was done by Caldwell. The question will of course be asked, "What does this prove?" It proves nothing directly as to the truth of Blaine's story, but adds

one more to the suspicious and mysterious circumstances which, taken together, look not like an honest attempt to procure evidence that will exonerate him, but like a tricky attempt to cover up some transaction that will not bear the light. Caldwell's despatch is, by the way, a perversion of the truth. He says: "I never gave Blaine any Little Rock bonds, directly or indirectly." This we know, from Mulligan's testimony, was not true. But the most suspicious circumstance of all is that Scott, who swears that Blaine had no connection with the \$64,000 transaction, and that the money was paid to himself as extra salary, should immediately have begun to instruct Caldwell by cable what to say about it. If Scott's story were true, he and Caldwell had no common interest in it whatever, and he could not have known whether Caldwell had given Blaine Little Rock bonds or not. There is one way in which a good deal of the testimony can be reconciled with Scott's story. If Blaine, who undoubtedly had a quantity of these Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds, had undertaken to "place" them on a commission, and the vendees had declined to take them or begged to be relieved of them, the bonds might have been turned over to Scott, possibly through a third person, and paid for by him. The transaction between him and the Union Pacific would, in that case, have been independent of Blaine, and Blaine might try to persuade himself that the transaction concerned only his friends who had originally applied for the bonds, and not himself, the agent in their transfer. If Scott could be persuaded to tell where he got his Little Rock bonds, a good deal of light might be thrown on the matter.

The retirement of Mr. Bristow from the Treasury, coming as it does at the beginning of a sharply-contested campaign, is a matter of profound regret. Had he remained in the Treasury, his presence there would have been a guarantee in which everybody would have trusted that the enormous powers of the Treasury would not, directly or indirectly, be used by the party in power to carry the election; whoever may succeed him now, we are hardly likely to feel the same assurance. Mr. Bristow has managed the Treasury as well as any man could who had no policy given to him by Congress to carry out at a time when the country most needed a policy, and who was hampered, to a degree difficult for any one not familiar with politics to appreciate, in the ordinary duties of his position by every sort of underhand trick and covert opposition. It is, we believe, a fact, and a most remarkable fact, that of the twenty or more cabinet ministers whom General Grant has called in to assist him in the work of government, he is the only one who has won any real popularity or obtained the hearty support of the public and the press; and this he has merited not by any remarkable displays of statesmanship or any brilliant financial feats, but because he has preferred to do his duty quietly and without ostentation, and has made it clear that he was not a man to tolerate dishonesty or speculation in public life for the sake of the party or anything else. His reward has been a practical isolation at Washington, the enmity of the whole political class, dastardly accusations of corruption in office, and a forced retirement at the very time when his honesty and good faith were most needed to protect the Treasury from being turned over to a corrupt gang of officeholders to keep themselves in power.

The war between the trunk-railroads continues, and there have been, during the week, several reductions in passenger fares; the rates for freights between the Atlantic cities and the West are now arranged on the standard of 16 to 25 cents per hundred pounds from New York to Chicago, or \$3.20 to \$5 per ton, which is hardly equivalent to the cost of cartage at either end of the route. It was charged early in the week that Mr. Jewett, the Receiver of the Erie, permitted that Company to be used by the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio to lead in the fight with the New York Central, against which these companies and the Grand Trunk of Canada have com-

mon cause. Mr. Jewett denied this charge, and made the counter one that the New York Central had forced the war, and had led in the reductions of rates. Mr. William H. Vanderbilt replied that Mr. Jewett was mistaken, and here the matter stands—all the trunk-lines continuing to take business for the present, and some of them for months ahead, at rates which, under the most judicious management, make a losing business. While the trunk-lines are thus cutting their own throats, the effect of the dulness in the anthracite coal trade and the inability to get relief by combination are shown in the decline of the shares of the coal companies. The heaviest fall has been in New Jersey Central stock, this company deriving a large part of its income from mining as well as transporting coal. The other companies in the same business—the Delaware and Hudson and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western—have suffered, but less than the New Jersey Central, because they are believed to be financially stronger. The roads west of Chicago have been profiting by the trunk-line war, which has increased and quickened the movement of grain. At the close of the week the grain movement was sluggish, because of the decline of prices in England, to which favorable accounts of the growing crops there and the disappearance of the war-cloud have contributed.

The foreign news of the week is unimportant. The new Minister of War in Turkey, Hussein Avni Pasha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ruschid Pasha, have been assassinated, and the Minister of Marine wounded, by a dismissed Circassian officer, who forced his way into the Divan while the ministers were sitting in council. The occurrence has no political significance and is not likely to have any serious consequences, as none of the ministers was a necessary man, although the Minister of War was perhaps the best representative to be found of the late revolutionary movement. There is increasing doubt as to the suicide of the late Sultan, but nobody will care to scrutinize the affair too closely. It is still uncertain whether the Servian Government will be able to check the popular desire to make an onslaught on Turkey, though its official relations with Constantinople are now very peaceful. Roumania is taking extraordinary precautions to preserve its neutrality, and Greece has published assurances of strict abstinence from any share in the troubles. What is most curious in the situation as it now stands is that the Russian press has begun to speak very approvingly of England's position, and to express the utmost confidence in her desire to ameliorate the lot of the Turkish Christians. In fact, all the signs are that no power will now interfere in the conflict, and the belief begins to spread that the insurgents, finding outside help hopeless, will come to terms with the new Sultan.

Some sensation has been created in France by the election of M. Buffet, the well-known reactionary ex-Minister, to fill a vacancy. As the Senate fills its own vacancies, and Buffet was an old and vigorous opponent of the Republican constitution, this vote has startled people who supposed that the Senate had a good Republican majority. It has accordingly roused some of the old feeling of bitterness against the Monarchists, and M. de Marcère, Minister of the Interior, has, it is said, been led by it, as a means of freeing the Government from all suspicion of sympathy with what has occurred, into taking more vigorous measures than ever against the prefects of reactionary antecedents or tendencies. One result of the occurrence has been to bring the Left into more cordial support of the Ministry than before. The bill giving the Government the sole power of granting university degrees sticks fast in the Senate, and it is now announced that the Ministry will make it a Cabinet question, and stand or fall by it. There are signs of a Ministerial crisis in Spain, owing to a difference between the Cabinet and the Cortes over a proposed increase in the land-tax, and the probability of strong opposition to the abolition of the Biscayan *fueros*; but with this exception a summer dulness seems to be coming over the politics of the Continent.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM AND NOMINATIONS.

THE choice of the President of the United States ought to be, if any act of human beings ought to be, the result of reason and reflection; and as the readers of this journal are reasoning, reflecting men and women, what we have to say about the work of the Cincinnati Convention will have no flavor of campaign enthusiasm about it, and will be marked by no "generous illusions." The "shouting" for Hayes and Wheeler will be done by others so effectively that we are, even if "shouting" were desirable, under no obligation to swell the volume of inarticulate sound by which they will be aided in their canvass. The first thing to be noted about Mr. Hayes's nomination, as seen from our point of view, then, is that in so far as it is creditable, it is not creditable to the Convention; and, indeed, the way in which it was brought about bears out all we have been lately saying in these columns as to the aleatory character of nominations made in this way. Hayes was not a favorite, or prominent, or widely-known candidate when the Convention met, while nearly one-half the body was pledged, and enthusiastically, to another who had just been detected in jobbery, and nearly one-third to two senators who have been closely and intimately connected with all the abuses of the last eight years. Consequently, the prospects of reform when the Convention opened could hardly have been said to be cheerful. After a few trials of the relative strength of the competitors, made under great excitement and amidst the yells of the gallery, the "break" occurred; and it is to be observed, that whether it carried the majority over to Bristow or to Hayes was a matter of pure chance, which might as well have been settled by drawing lots as by voting. In fact, human reason had about as much to do with the selection of Mr. Hayes for the nomination as with the selection of Darius for the throne of Persia, and he, as is well known, owed his crown to the early neighing of his horse. To talk, under these circumstances, of the work of the Convention as well done is an abuse of language. The proper thing to say of the nominations by way of approval is that a great deal of excitement and confusion, following on a great deal of intriguing, ended by the merest accident most happily. If the choice of the Convention were final, of course such a mode of choosing the chief-magistrate of a great nation would be intolerable, and might result in frightful mischief. Even as a suggestion, it is, where the party is strong and well disciplined and the alternative very repulsive, full of dangers of one sort or another.

As to the nominations themselves, the candidates cannot, as regards personal character and antecedents, be spoken of too highly. They are eminently respectable men—the most respectable men, in the strict sense of that word, the Republican party has ever nominated. Were the Presidential office now what the Constitution intended it to be, were the Administrative machinery in proper working order, and were the Legislature confined by custom as well as by law to its proper duties, we should say that Mr. Hayes was precisely the kind of man for which the Presidency calls. He belongs to a type of which any country may be proud, and which it should be the aim of education and legislation in every country to foster as that on which free institutions most securely rest—the quiet, sober man, who does faithfully and without ostentation whatever his hand gives him to do; in peace an honest gentleman, in war a gallant and modest soldier; loving a private station best, but always ready on a lawful call to leave it for a public one. It is to this type of man that the Anglo-Saxon race owes most of its political liberty and prosperity, for it is the type which produced Hampden and Washington.

But Mr. Hayes, though by no means conspicuous in politics, is not wholly unknown, and we presume there are few even of those who know him best and like him most who do not doubt whether he is the kind of man for which the crisis through which we are now passing calls. The civil-service plank in the platform, though doubtless well meant, has, in its declaration that senators and representatives should confine themselves to their legitimate duties and refrain from influencing appointments, a ludicrous resemblance

to the resolution introduced into the French National Assembly calling on all the rascals to quit France. It brings strikingly to mind the great fact, that to get rid of the master-evil of the Government in our day—that which has already degraded and paralyzed it, and threatens it with serious fundamental changes at no very remote date—the President must be a man of no ordinary tenacity and breadth of view, and must be prepared to sacrifice personal ease and smoothness of administration, and party harmony and success, to higher and more important things. We do not believe, with our present knowledge, that Mr. Hayes is such a man. We do not know, for we have no reason for believing, that he thinks the condition of the civil service a serious evil, that he would make great sacrifices to amend it, or that he thinks anything of more importance to the country than the supremacy of the Republican party, managed substantially as it now is. Let us not be misunderstood. We have no doubt he will surround himself with a respectable Cabinet; that his secretaries of state will never be chance acquaintances made in the railroad-cars or at dinner-parties; that his associates will be men of honor and education; that he will be in good relations with the intellectual and moral as well as the material interests of the country; that he will not tolerate thieves or theft in his immediate view and presence; and that he would be the enemy of all kinds of jobbery. But this he might be and do for four or eight years without permanently or even sensibly reforming the Government, or removing one of its Oriental features, and without checking that growing tendency to rely on individuals rather than on laws for the salvation of the Government which is the great danger and difficulty of the day. It will be seen that we do not seek to conceal his good points, but we fear that it is these very points which make him objectionable at this juncture. We fear that he will, if elected, send the nation to sleep again, to wake up once more in four or eight years to look for a "truly good man" to save it from the whiskey-thieves and the speculators and jobbers and ringsters. This reliance on special providences is the sign, however, not of healthy but of morbid politics; and the truly great man and the real reformer will be he who will bring about the revolution which will render great men unnecessary, and make the type to which Mr. Hayes belongs sufficient for all the needs of the state.

In short, what is perhaps worst about the nominations is their unobjectionableness. They are so good that the average voter will be very well satisfied with them—in fact, he is satisfied with them already. They will abate the desire for any effort at radical reform, and promote that love of palliatives and makeshifts which is already so strong, and which grows stronger as the voting population grows in volume, and its social interests and political aims and opinions grow more complicated and harder to calculate. They will make any revolt against the party organization at present both useless and hopeless, and offer but little prospect to those who were looking for some active attempt at amendment now, more attractive than that of being able to repeat a few years hence the now well-worn and melancholy boast, "I told you so."

But the Convention, whatever one may think of the nominations, did furnish signs of considerable improvement in party morals, and has left behind it some results of considerable value. It showed, for one thing, that the "Senatorial Group" was no longer a power in the party. Its two principal members, Messrs. Conkling and Morton, cut a very sorry figure as candidates. Indeed, the small amount of "strength" "developed" by Mr. Conkling contrasted somewhat ludicrously with the confidence of his followers and the size and impudence of the claque which was sent by them with music and banners from this city. Mr. A. R. Shepherd, too, was refused admission from the District of Columbia, and the Spencer delegates from Alabama. All these were favorable symptoms, and can hardly fail to have their effect in shaping Mr. Hayes's policy or in warning him of his dangers. Of the platform it is difficult to speak with patience and justice. It deals with the civil-service difficulty a little more minutely than that of the Philadelphia Convention, but its utterance, like that of Philadelphia, is a barren

proposition, and neither suggests nor calls for any legislation. It in like manner evades all specification in speaking of the currency, and, while advocating in a general way a return to specie payments at an indefinite date, says not one word in reference to the solemn pledge to resume in January, 1879, which the Republican party has placed on the statute-book, and which the Democrats are now trying to repeal. It throws a sop to the friends of woman suffrage in the shape of a "glittering generality," which may mean much or nothing, and makes a bid for the vote of California by an insinuation that "the immigration and importation of Mongolians" have injurious effects on "the moral and material interests of the country," thus flying directly in the face of that theory of the equality of all races on which the Republican party was largely built up and on which it has reconstructed the Southern State governments. After a fling at polygamy and a reproduction of that old and comic vow to stand by the soldiers and sailors about their pensions, it concludes with the customary curse on the Democratic party. It may be read with profit by the political student as an excellent specimen of the kind of mild imposture which the politician of our day tries to practise on the people after his party ceases to have substantial and unmistakable work to do. To pass any severer condemnation than this on it would be to ascribe to it more importance than it has or is likely to have.

THE INVESTMENTS OF POLITICIANS.

THE "Corruptionists" and their apologists have been resorting to a mode of lessening the force of the criticisms made upon Mr. Blaine's operations in stocks and bonds which, in some ways, is hardly less grotesque in its absurdity than the notion which they have also been trying to spread, that the recent exposures made at Washington are simply a "rebel attack on the character of our public men," the new weapon of the Confederates being what the eloquent Logan calls "the dagger of detraction." What they say in reply to strictures on Mr. Blaine's dealings, and especially to strictures which assume that men in public life cannot and ought not to have the same liberty of investment as other men, is, in substance, that those who are assailing Mr. Blaine are setting up a rule which would shut out from Congress and the Presidency nearly all men engaged in trade, commerce, manufactures, mining, or transportation, because there is hardly any branch of industry which might not be, for instance, affected by tariff legislation; and they then roll their eyes, as they do about "the spirit of slander which is abroad in the land" and about "the dagger of detraction," and ask whether you really mean to say that the Government ought to be committed to the hands of men who are so poor or so shiftless that they have no invested accumulations, or to mere essayists or orators who have had no practical experience of business; and, in some cases, ask you, with prayerful and lachrymose reproachfulness, whether you are not aware that John Hancock was a great merchant as well as a great politician.

Now, the sad part of all this is that our Corruptionist friends know that there is a well-recognized and long-established distinction, which has been embodied in the legislation of nearly all civilized countries, between men in official and in private life in the matter of pecuniary interest. Not to go out of our own country, the State of Pennsylvania absolutely prohibits the governor and the judges, the members of the legislature, and all executive officers—State, city, or county—who have the handling of the public moneys, from acting as directors of a bank. We believe all the States of the Union refuse to trust a judge with the decision of causes in which he, as a stockholder in a corporation, has an interest. When any such cause comes before him to which a corporation or any business concern in which he has a share is a party, the law says he must leave the bench or the case must be carried into another court. It says, in other words, that though he is a respectable man, trustworthy in all the ordinary concerns of life, it will not allow the two characters of investor and arbitrator to unite in him in any given case. Let his interest in a railroad or mine or

factory be ever so slight, and let his character be ever so high, he shall not pronounce any decision by which he himself might profit even to the extent of one dollar. It is true, the decision might be just; in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it would be just. Nay, in a large number of cases men of high honor and sensitive natures would probably be led by the knowledge that they were interested in a cause to lean against their interest. But the law takes no note of these things; it insists not only that a judge must be pure, but that he shall put himself in no position in which plain people would be led, on an ordinary view of human nature, to doubt his purity, and thus have their confidence in the administration of justice weakened—so that he can never be an investor and judge at the same time.

Now, the legislation of most of, if not all, the States takes particular pains to fix the judicial character of legislative functions. It provides that anybody who promises or offers a legislator, either before or after his election, any gift, gratuity, or advantage, in order to influence his vote, opinion, or decision on any particular side of any question, cause, or proceeding before him, shall go to jail, and that the legislator who accepts anything of the kind shall go to jail too. The United States has a law to the same effect; and another, well known for its bearing on the late Mr. A. T. Stewart's appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, shutting out from that office every merchant engaged in foreign trade; and another, which forbids members of Congress from acting as counsel in the Court of Claims. In fact, we might fill a volume with citations from the statutes, both State and Federal, showing the popular anxiety lest executive or legislative officers should be influenced by pecuniary considerations in the exercise of their official discretion, and the popular determination that they should, as far as legislation could do it, be shielded against temptation. We might fill another volume with the opinions of jurists and moralists of every age and country as to the obligation resting on all lawgivers and magistrates not only to be, but to seem, disinterested in the discharge of their functions—that is, not only to avoid evil, but the appearance of evil, in their manner of acquiring property and in their tenure of it. It will probably surprise some of the "magnetic" patriots of the present day, and some Boston ministers, to learn that George Washington, when the Assembly of Virginia voted him by public act in open daylight one hundred and fifty shares of two canal companies in acknowledgment of his eminent services both as a soldier and statesman, and as a promoter of internal improvements, declined the gift on the ground that it was his wish as a public man "to have his mind and his actions, which are the result of reflection, as free and independent as the air; that he might be more at liberty (in things which his opportunities and experience had brought him to the knowledge of) to express his sentiments and, if necessary, to suggest what might occur to him, under the fullest conviction that, although his judgment might be arraigned, there might be no suspicion that sinister motives had the smallest influence in the suggestion." "Not content, then," he adds, "with the bare consciousness of my having in all this navigation business acted upon the clearest conviction of the political importance of the measure, I would wish that every individual who may hear that it was a favorite plan of mine may know also that I had no other motive for promoting it than the advantage of which I conceived it would be productive to the Union, and to this State in particular. How would this matter be viewed, then, by the eye of the world, and what would be the opinion of it, when it comes to be related that George Washington had received twenty thousand dollars and five thousand pounds sterling of the public money as an interest therein?" That these sentiments were not peculiar to him at that day, and showed themselves in the next generation, is proved by the fact that John Quincy Adams sold his shares in the United States Bank before legislating about it.

But then legislation can only ensure official purity within certain limits. It can only deal with corruption when it takes the gross and palpable form of bribery—that is, of the payment of money or valuables as the probable price of a vote or judgment. It cannot deal with transactions in that wide border-land between honesty and

dishonesty in which the connection of votes with favors or votes with self-interest is only a probable connection, and is too vague and shadowy to be dealt with by the coarse machinery of penal justice. This is left, and rightly left, as so much of the morality of private life is left, to the jurisdiction of public opinion; and public opinion, if in a healthy state, though it does not draw a precise line between what is allowable and what is not, and though it yields a wide margin for the play of circumstances, does make *some* improprieties perfectly clear. It does not, perhaps, prohibit a merchant from going to Congress and voting for a tariff which will raise the price of his own goods, or give increased activity to his own business, if his business be one in which so large a body of his countrymen share as to make his selfish interest in the change remote or minute; but, if he belongs to a small knot or ring of speculators, it does unhesitatingly declare his use of his vote or influence to enhance suddenly the value of his wares to be very indecent. It does in like manner condemn without flinching the sudden entrance of a man into a calling or speculation for the benefit of which he immediately afterwards seeks legislation. It would and does treat as a knave a man who buys a large quantity of whiskey and then begins in Congress to work for a sudden increase in the whiskey tax. It has nothing to say against members owning shares in a corporation organized, as the national banks are, under a general law, but it does object to the appearance on the floor of the representatives of corporations organized by special legislation, particularly if the special legislation confers on the company extraordinary powers or large endowments. In fact, one of the notorious facts of contemporary politics is the corrupting influence of special legislation on the legislatures. All the new State constitutions are providing against it in one way or another, and the way it corrupts is that it makes it worth while for small rings of speculators to offer members valuable considerations for their votes, or Speakers for their rulings, and not that it promotes intemperance or profane swearing. It is special legislation that leads speculators to place stock where "it will do most good," and get members of Congress to sell bonds at low rates among their friends; and the pretence that members of Congress, therefore, stand in no different position towards companies chartered or endowed by the United States from that of the rest of the community, or that in owning the stock and bonds of such companies a member of Congress is guilty of no greater impropriety than a private individual would be, is a very brazen pretence. Members of Congress themselves do not venture to offer it. It is offered for them by partisan newspapers and gushing ministers, who have lost or never acquired the faculty of seeing straight in the maze of commercial morals. When even such a person as Mr. Chandler boasted that he had always avoided holding the stock of a company chartered by Congress by a special act, and when Mr. Blaine wrote to his friend that he "could not touch" an "interest" in the Northern Pacific for himself, they acknowledged in clear terms the existence and notoriety of the rule for which we are contending. And it is a rule about which there is nothing intricate or abstruse. It is easy to extract it from any bundle of facts, and no duly sensitive man has any difficulty in applying it to his own conduct. In political as in private life we are to avoid temptations that are strong and direct, and we know well that the man who does so habitually need care nothing about the small and remote ones. The world does not expect men charged with judicial functions to be superhumanly pure, but it expects them to be as pure as a man may easily be, and, if they do not keep clear of every small influence that might lead them astray if they were very weak, to keep clear at least of those to which they know, and the world believes, the strongest may succumb.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

CINCINNATI, June 18, 1876.

WHEN I arrived in Cincinnati, a week ago, in company with a party of New York Reformers, I found public interest in great measure centred in the discussion of the chances of the nomination of Mr. Conkling. Our train, with the exception of our own party, was a Conkling caravan,

and many were the confident predictions and prophecies of the faithful band, who were not at all backward in lifting up their voices in the praise of the great senator, or in curses against his enemies. They did not appear to care to argue the question of his nomination, but, in reply to tentative questions, easily disposed of all rising doubts: they did not *think* anything about it; they *knew* he was going to win. On reaching Cincinnati they spread considerable terror among their opponents by producing among their "properties" a powerful brass-band and a magnificent banner bearing an awe-inspiring portrait of Mr. Conkling. Armed with these, they proceeded to cow their adversaries effectually, and ensure the success of their favorite, by marching up to the Gibson House, on which was a banner of the Republican Reform Club of New York, and placing immediately beneath it a banner of their own, inscribed with the words, "For President, Roscoe Conkling." No sooner had this feat been accomplished than it was telegraphed to New York, and the exultant followers of Conkling felt that the first blow of the campaign had been driven home. For twenty-four hours they succeeded in creating a belief in a good many quarters that they were really a formidable party, and on Monday, after a meeting of the New York delegation, I was told by a leading member of that body, not himself at all friendly to the Conkling faction, that the great danger of the moment was that Conkling would be nominated on the second ballot. This fear must, of course, have been based upon a belief that Pennsylvania would be delivered to Conkling, a belief for which, notwithstanding all that has been said about it, and all that may before the Convention have been intended about it, was certainly not among the possibilities at Cincinnati. This was due chiefly to the fact that the majority of the Convention saw that the Republicans of New York were divided among themselves, and that a division of the party in a doubtful and very important State could not be risked. The reading of the Reform Club's address from the stage by Mr. Curtis, put in a dramatic way what was already privately known and admitted; and though the Conkling party listened to it with assumed indifference, thinking, as one of them afterwards said, that "they might as well let Curtis air himself on that as on anything else," the language of the address was so pointed and cutting, and so different from the prevailing political jargon, that it was practically Mr. Conkling's death-warrant. It was curious to observe how completely the support of the "machine" had isolated Mr. Conkling's followers from the rest of the party. Their touch was evidently shunned by the others, and, so far from having any opportunity to compromise or barter, they were finally driven into the support of Hayes by the threatening increase of the Blaine vote, without having time to "place" a single post-office.

The telegram announcing Mr. Blaine's sudden illness caused an excitement among the delegates which, for the time being, threw everything else into the shade, and the immediate revelation of a widely-diffused popular comprehension of the science and practice of medicine was among the most striking things that gave interest to the discussions of the day or two preceding the Convention. From general reflections upon paralytic and apoplectic strokes to a complete diagnosis of the case, and explanations of the conflicting telegrams from the physicians, and the allopathic or homeopathic motives which dictated them, there was no species of opinion that had not a representative on the street-corners. Politicians who avoided, on principle, discussing Mr. Blaine's letters on their merits, and confined themselves to the question of his availability, had no hesitation in predicting that he would be dead within a week, or, if not dead, utterly incapable of using his mind or bearing any strain, while among the Blaine men there seemed to be a strong feeling that, whether dead or alive, conscious or unconscious, he was the proper candidate to beat the Democratic party with. Blaine was from the first the candidate who had most real party strength, and his managers had the best organization at Cincinnati. Two days before the balloting Mr. Eugene Hale had given out the exact figures which he expected to poll on the first ballot, and the vote for Mr. Blaine corresponded exactly—neither one more nor one less—with the vote (285) which was actually given to him.

It was clear from the first that unless Blaine was able to carry the Convention by sheer force of popularity, the nomination must be decided in a great measure by the Morton or Southern vote, which it was difficult to know about. The Bristow men, for some reason, believed in an alliance with the Morton party, but as they found themselves woefully left in the lurch when the crisis came, it is highly probable that the Morton managers did not confide their doubts, hopes, and fears to Bristow men only, but allowed it to be understood by other parties also that they would be willing to sacrifice all personal considerations to the highest interests of the nation. As a matter of fact, the account of the final defeat of the Bristow movement, given the day after by the Cincinnati *Commercial*, is perfectly correct.

The strenuous support of Blaine had at last convinced all opposed to him that he was the real enemy, and the more sagacious leaders of the party, knowing that disaster stared them in the face should he be the nominee—it was an open secret in Cincinnati that a bolt was inevitable in that case—resolved to combine against him. The Reformers had convinced Conkling's followers that he could not be nominated, and Morton was out of the question, as well as Hartranft. This left Bristow and Hayes as the only possible anti-Blaine nominees, and it was understood by the Bristow men that as soon as the Morton vote should go below that of Bristow, the vote of Indiana (thirty votes) was to be given to Bristow. The immediate causes which prevented this from being carried out were that Thompson, who was to have cast the vote, did not do so on the sixth ballot; that meantime Morton himself telegraphed to his supporters directing them not to desert him; and, in the interval caused by this delay, Michigan, which just before had given eleven of her twenty-two votes to Bristow, and was counted upon to support him in the end solidly, went bodily over to Hayes. These two defections settled the matter, and the anti-Blaine forces went over to Hayes with a rush. They did this, as the next ballot showed, only just in time, for the Blaine "stampede" had already begun, and it was by a narrow chance that he was not nominated. Blaine's vote on the sixth ballot was 308, or within 71 of a nomination. On the seventh vote, the doubtful and Southern States began to go over to him, and from the first nine States, out of a total vote of 140, he had 105, against 81 on the previous ballot; in other words, a gain of 24, or about 30 per cent. This he got not as the result of any bargains or consultation, but from the mere uncontrollable desire of a large part of the Convention to go with the winning man. The shouting and excitement caused by this increase of Blaine's vote were very great, and if the increase could have been kept up through the remaining States, Blaine would have received more than the 379 votes necessary to a choice.

The history of the somewhat mysterious proceedings of the Massachusetts delegation was in substance as follows: Before the delegates arrived in Cincinnati, it was known that a majority of them were for Bristow, but it was also understood that a minority—not strong in numbers, but possessing considerable influence—were for Blaine. The leadership of this Blaine minority fell naturally into the hands of Judge Hoar, who at first was a warm advocate of Blaine's, and whose behavior throughout the Convention is difficult to reconcile with any other belief than that he really desired his friend's nomination. I say difficult to reconcile, because, according to Judge Hoar's own account of the matter, his reason for wishing Massachusetts to support Blaine was in order that Bristow might be nominated. The intricate process of reasoning by which he reached this conclusion was that the support of Blaine would conciliate the Blaine men and win their affection, so that "when the break came"—the break being the critical moment when the greater number of Favorite Sons were to be deserted and (it is difficult to write elegantly about these matters) the winning horse was to make his appearance—they would come over to Bristow. When the voting by the Convention began, Judge Hoar did in reality vote for Mr. Bristow, but, by adopting the curious policy of working for Blaine in order that Bristow might be nominated, he did more than any one man on the Massachusetts delegation to prevent what the Bristow managers most wanted—that the leading Eastern Republican State should come into the Convention as a unit for him. It was felt by them—and they were unquestionably right—that with Kentucky and Massachusetts united, Mr. Bristow's candidacy would appear in a radically different light from that which a nomination by Kentucky seconded by a divided support from Massachusetts would have thrown upon it. Massachusetts, formerly the great stronghold of Republicanism in the East, had passed into the category of States that were doubtful, while Kentucky was in the position of a State needing to be "rescued" from the Democrats; and if, instead of Kentucky's bringing Bristow's name forward as a Favorite Son, his nomination could have been made by Massachusetts, on the ground that his name would secure an "old-time majority of 75,000," and seconded by Kentucky as necessary for her redemption (General Harlan, the Bristow manager from Kentucky, declared that Bristow could really carry the State), it is not at all impossible that Bristow might have received nearly two hundred votes on the second ballot. This was the hope of the Bristow men, but the chance was destroyed by Judge Hoar (not assisted, however, as has been incorrectly reported, by his brother, George F. Hoar).

The plan of a nomination by Massachusetts with a second by Kentucky was not acted on, but the reverse of this was attempted without success. A vote was taken in the Massachusetts delegation to authorize Mr. Dana to second the nomination when it should be made by Kentucky, but a single vote

thrown against it by Judge Hoar prevented unanimity, and thus deprived the vote of its moral weight. Judge Hoar's position is made all the more mysterious by this, because the Blaine men were willing enough that the vote should be unanimous, while he, although intending to vote for Bristow in the Convention—this at least is a fair supposition, as he did actually cast his vote so—preferred to divide the delegation. The explanation of the whole is that he really wanted to see Blaine nominated, and supported Bristow finally because all the better part of his State was in Bristow's favor. But, as a politician, he played his cards badly, for he did not help Blaine and he alienated the friends of Bristow. Although his precise position was not known, it became generally understood early in the week that he was on the anti-reform side, and the criticisms that his supposed sympathy with the Blaine movement gave rise to were far from mild.

But, though the Bristow lobby (if such an expression may be used with reference to reformers) did not succeed in uniting Massachusetts on their candidate, they accomplished a great deal of what they went to Cincinnati to do. It is to the popularity of the Bristow movement, outside of politicians, that the defeat of Morton and Conkling, if not Blaine, must be attributed. During the few days preceding the Convention they were very active with meetings, speeches, torchlight processions, and "committees of reception." The local sentiment of Cincinnati was as unmistakably for Bristow as if he instead of Hayes had been Ohio's favorite son. Indeed, it was rather significant of the present condition of politics to find the Ohio politicians resolved to stand by Hayes to the last, when the people who elected these politicians were filling the air with cries for Bristow. The Bristow lobby was emphatically not a political lobby; it was a sadly honest-looking body of men, and the only body having anything to do with the Convention in whom any considerable number of gentlemen, in the strict sense of the word, were to be found. Looking at them, and seeing the thoroughly "visionary" way in which they tried to push the fortunes of their candidate by appeals to the desire of the Convention for honest government, and to the detestation of the delegates for all trickery and underhand proceedings, it was impossible for the most genuine reformer not to regret that they were too moral to use other arguments. A good campaign fund for distribution among the charitable and educational institutions and other infant industries of the South would have carried Bristow in with a rush, and it seemed almost a pity that so many corruptible delegates should come so far away from their homes and yet go back uncorrupted.

One of the most noticeable features of the Convention was the use made by the leading managers of the negro. The confused condition of the Southern delegations and the uncertainty as to their intentions made it important for every candidate to show that he controlled the negro vote, and would, therefore, carry at least some of the old slave States. On this account black orators were to be heard at every corner—Blaine negroes, who explained that the African longed to vote for the man who had "defied the Confederate Congress"; Morton negroes, who represented the persecuted freedmen praying to God and Indiana to send them a speedy deliverance from blood-hounds and Ku-klux; Bristow negroes, who descanted upon the virtues of the district-attorney who had actually prosecuted the Ku-klux; and even Conkling negroes, who, for reasons which they found it rather difficult to explain, maintained that the man to redeem the South was the "uncorrupt Senator from New York." The negro speeches, on the whole, were very nearly as good as the white speeches, and infinitely more amusing, partly from internal causes and partly because the negro "business" was so universally recognized as a piece of buncombe. The assumed deference with which the black delegates were treated by their white associates, and the gravity with which their arguments were listened to, were made extremely comical by the transparent way in which the real feelings of the dominant color now and then showed itself, as in the almost public boast by one delegate that his party "had a better nigger" than one of the other candidates, and, finally, by the tumult caused by the speech of the Blaine negro in the Convention, who referred to Mr. Curtis as the "poet from New York," and to Mr. Dana as the "Minister to England," and, after using up most of his five minutes, declared that he had only "twelve points" to make, the first of which was that "without Mr. Blaine there would have been no Republican party at all." This speech, however, was a confessed fiasco and a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the negro business. Some of the black delegates' speeches were quite effective, particularly one from a supporter of Mr. Bristow at one of the meetings before the Convention, in which the orator, at a loss for any parallel to Mr. Bristow's victory over the Whiskey Ring, compared him to Alexander the Great. Alexander, he admitted, was a great man; he conquered the world. But when it came to

wiskey, the conqueror of the world was no match for it, but, instead of overcoming it as Bristow had done, succumbed to its baleful influence.

It is impossible to sit through the proceedings of a national convention without wondering at its popularity as a method of selecting candidates. The objections to the old caucus were that it was a close corporation, and did not fairly represent local sentiment and voting strength. But while such a convention as that just held at Cincinnati certainly gets over these difficulties, it runs into others quite as bad. The convention is in theory a deliberative body; but it would probably puzzle the wisest parliamentarian to say how a body like that which met last Wednesday at Exposition Hall could possibly deliberate. There were, of course, several moments during the Convention when there was a pretence of debate—as, for instance, when the Committee on Credentials reported in favor of the anti-Spencer delegation from Alabama, again when the Mongolian plank in the platform was attacked, when an attempt was made to insert a resolution insisting on the fulfilment of the Resumption Act, and when Mr. Don Cameron attempted to make Pennsylvania adopt the "unit" rule; and speeches were made on both sides of all these questions, but they were settled by considerations which did not make their appearance in the speeches at all. The first three were all settled in favor of the regular committee's report, partly because any other course would have introduced disaffection and shown a want of harmony, and partly because, in the case of the Alabama delegation, the friends of at least two candidates—Blaine and Bristow—expected to get the vote of the regular delegation. This absence of all real opportunity for debate outside the locked rooms in which the committees or the delegates meet for consultation gives the speeches in a convention a curiously hollow ring, particularly as almost every delegate who has anything to say on any disputed point of fact or law invariably begins by protesting to the Convention that among his acquaintance he has an undisputed reputation for truth, fair dealing, and a keen sense of honor, and then triumphantly enquires whether anyone can believe him to have any bad motive in supporting or opposing—as the case may be—the motion. When these protestations have been repeated by a dozen suspicious-looking characters from as many different States at the top of their voices, it begins to make the most credulous sceptical. And yet it is the only kind of argument that is used at all. A convention is really a spectacular body, and the vast audience that comes to see the show recognize this so clearly that they feel rather like resenting any appeals to the understanding instead of the senses.

The hall in which the Centennial Convention was held is an enormous building, capable of seating something like ten thousand persons. It must have held, beside the delegates and the alternates, fully six thousand people, all partisans of one or other of the candidates, and coming there with the avowed purpose of making as much noise as possible, and this not for the sake of disturbing or irritating anybody, but because it is a well established fact that at a certain point in the proceedings noise will tell, and perhaps decide the nomination. The result of this is that the chairman practically presided over a body of about eight thousand people, and, not having a great deal of force, did not succeed in keeping the Convention well in hand. But, as a spectacle, it was very good. The magical certainty with which the delegate appointed beforehand to make or second a nomination was recognized by the chair, and the manly stride with which he mounted the platform and poured forth his glowing panegyric of a man whom he knew had not the remotest chance of being nominated, and called Heaven to witness that he would carry all the doubtful States, roll up an "old-time majority" in his own, and wipe the Democratic party out of existence; the steady, unswerving gallantry with which, each time the roll was called, the several States stood by their respective candidates until they had made up their minds to throw them over, were, from a theatrical point of view, very fine. The necessity, too, that the performers who have the principal rôles assigned to them feel of reaching the ears, not of the rest of the company, but of the surrounding public, seems by a sort of natural selection to have the effect of increasing with each generation of politicians the power and range of the human voice, and to be gradually making it as different from the voice of ordinary human beings as the moral and mental qualities of politicians are from those of the rest of mankind. Probably no school but that of American politics could have produced such a voice as that of "Bob" Ingersoll of Illinois, who nominated Mr. Blaine. After listening to the last reverberation of the echoes, it was almost painful to hear that the Government has preferred or is about to prefer charges against Mr. Ingersoll for certain fraudulent practices connected with the revenue, or, as it was picturesquely put by a leading Bristow editor, that "Four State-prisons are yawning for him."

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—V. ORIENTAL CARPETS.

PHILADELPHIA, June 17.

IT is a disappointment to the enthusiast in textile fabrics to find at Philadelphia an inadequate display of Oriental carpets and rugs. Although there are many fine pieces, and many varieties represented by one piece at least, yet there are important styles totally absent, and of those which are present all, or nearly all, are those we have seen before at certain times and in certain places. The Exhibition should have brought together what at no other time and place could have been seen—we speak of the United States—namely, a comparative show of all the varieties of Oriental floor-cloths, from Morocco to Japan and from Bokhara to Madras. Such a collection would have been instructive and valuable even for the six months of the Exhibition, even for the five months of its comparative perfection, and even while scattered through the vast space of the Main Building and the other buildings where the carpets are to be found. If it could then be bought and kept in the country in the hands of some one of our museums, still greater would have been the benefit. Nothing needs enlightenment more than the carpet-making trade. Nowhere are the benighted ideas of kaleidoscopic design more firmly entrenched. A museum of textile fabrics is one of our greatest needs; and it seems as if that branch of the art which has care of carpets and rugs is most in need of the teaching of such a collection, and at the same time would give the readiest and most delightful result from it.

Whatever collection could have been made at this Exhibition would have been wholly of modern work; at least, there is hardly to be expected any great display of ancient textile fabrics, or of ancient art of any sort, in an international exhibition of industry. Textile fabrics are among the most perishable objects to which art is applied. Even if kept exclusively for decorative purposes, and never trodden upon, rugs and carpets are liable to many injuries and to rapid decay. Persian and Cairene carpets exist, no doubt, at least two centuries old; French and Italian tapestries three hundred years old remain to us; but the greater part of these are wall-hangings of pictorial design. Chinese silk fabrics of undefined age are to be found, seldom in Europe, more often in the far East. It could hardly be brought about, however, that our Exhibition would contain many of these. It could not be hoped that they would be for sale. In considering, therefore, what the Philadelphia Exhibition has and what it lacks, we have to speak of carpet-making of the present time; of the productions of the East, not yet spoiled in design by the supposed necessity of consulting Western taste; of the same fabrics as modified by that commercial intercourse which has lowered their standard of merit; of the carpets of Europe, sometimes frankly Oriental in design, sometimes as frankly of some bygone style of Europe, hardly ever of original design, and, even when so, never very interesting; and, finally, of American struggles to make our own carpets at home, and to hit upon the secret of keeping our own buyers from going abroad.

India and Persia are the two homes of fine carpet-weaving in modern times. In the case of India there are many varieties, known by the name of the provinces they come from. Madras and Delhi, each a great centre of the industry, each giving name to a beautiful and costly fabric, are about as far apart as Philadelphia and Key West, and between them is not a fluent and constantly mingling population, corresponding and telegraphing and communicating with itself in all its distributions, but fixedly established in an ancient and immutable order, so that the student looks for greater divergences in style than he finds. All the India rugs which come to our knowledge at the Exhibition or elsewhere are thick, of long and soft nap, the wool, however carefully selected and prepared, seeming of coarse fibre, much as if the nap were made of zephyr worsted shaved off at a level of a half-inch above the warp. The colors of the wool show always on the reverse side; each bundle of fibres is doubled and knotted around the heavy warp, held in place by the threads of the wool, and has both extremities exposed, cut off level, to form the nap. It may be assumed that for all purposes of modern manufacture and commerce India rugs are of this nature, whether they contain twenty square feet or five hundred. There are differences in weight and thickness, in closeness of texture, and more particularly in pliability, some being as soft in the hand as flannel, others much stiffer. The common talk of the dealers puts down these soft ones as "old" ones, which have been "washed." There seems no reason to doubt, however, that there is a greater difference in the make than in the age. The stiffer rugs have the closer and more uniformly smooth surface, the softer ones are more open and the nap irregular and loose. The former are of the higher price, and apparently of better quality. But if age and wear do not change the character of the fabric very much, they

give a lovely softness to the color. If the buyer finds a carpet which has been very much worn and washed and scoured, he has found a treasure of mingled and indescribable hues, as far removed as possible from the harsh mosaic of contrasts which meets the eye in the regulation modern carpet. The great durability of these carpets, joined to this quality of growing more beautiful by time, is a boon to those persons who have got beyond the raw stage of furnishing, which may be said to consist in liking new things the best.

The India carpets in Philadelphia are of pretty even firmness. The very largest are somewhat the thickest, having the deepest pile, as well as a somewhat heavier body than the small ones; but the greater part of even the small rugs are nearly as thick. There are two principal groups of them: one in the section devoted to the British dependency of India, where are hanging from the girders of the building and high overhead a half-dozen large carpets; the other in Great Britain proper, where the three firms—Gregory & Co., Lapworth Brothers, and Vincent Robinson—have each a large alcove floored and walled with Oriental carpets of various sorts, of which the greater part are Indian. In the Gregory alcove there is especially to be observed a carpet about fifteen by nineteen feet, and priced £74 in bond, without duty. There are larger and more showy carpets, and more costly and finer ones perhaps, but the splendid design of the centre of this, stiff leafage and flowers on a ground of "camel white"—that is to say, of a changing creamy color, varying from pale straw-color to buff, but so pale as to look white until compared with actual white—gives it perhaps the first place as a design in color. Another in the same exhibit, about twenty-one by twenty-two feet, and priced £110, has a dark-red centre, in general effect, and a border of white with a small pattern in dusky colors. The flowers upon it are as formal and severe as in the former example, and the colors are generally very deep. A carpet similar to this, but smaller, was lately, and perhaps still is, in the possession of Cottier & Co. of New York. It is noticeable, however, in both these carpets, and in others, how important a part is played by a peculiar deep-yellow, which is commonly used as an outline or *trait* to mark out the pattern, and also forms little subordinate lines and veins on the formal leafage. It will be understood by every one familiar with Eastern carpets that there is no attempt at representing natural forms—not even a remote resemblance to them; but perhaps it will not be readily understood how strictly severe and how abstract the forms of these "flowers" and "leaves" are until one tries to draw the outline of them, when they will be found as rigid as a marble mosaic. With these should be compared the magnificent Madras carpet exhibited by Vincent Robinson, probably the most delicate and perfect large carpet in the Exhibition, priced at \$812 in currency, and worth it, in fineness and perfection of make, but perhaps hardly as admirable in design as either of the two last mentioned. Of those hanging up in the "India" section, the centre one of three, smaller than the others, and dark-yellow in general aspect, is especially remarkable in design. There are in all about fifteen large India carpets in the Main Building, all in the two places named. The four selected for special mention above are distinguished from their fellows merely by their artistic interest—all are fine. The prices of these would vary from five hundred to eight hundred dollars, after payment of our monstrous duty, and the general price of such carpets may be taken at twenty dollars a square yard delivered in the United States, or four times the price of fine English Wilton carpets, costing about four dollars a yard, of the usual breadth. Good as the latter are, the Indian carpets will probably outwear them at least four times over. They ought to prove practically indestructible. In a careful household, where a respect for its possessions exists, such carpets should last for two generations of constant wear—much longer in a retired place. So long as the pile remains at all, until the carpet is worn down to half its thickness, until the warp and woof begin to show, and even after that, the colors and the design remain perfect, gaining a deeper and a richer tone with years. The original value of the Indian and English carpets, as decorative objects, cannot be compared of course. In buying these costly things, however, care should be taken to select the real Indian designs, for there are those in market which have clearly had an impulse from Europe.

The small rugs of Indian make are sometimes like little pieces cut out of the great carpet. A piece out of a large design makes the centre; the border is the same as one of the large ones, but with fewer members. Other rugs again have their own especial "motive," a central lozenge-shaped or irregular figure, smaller and subordinate figures around it, and a border enclosing the whole. It appears that the best small rugs are apt to be of the former kind. It would be interesting to know whether there is a province in which the rugs and carpets are generally made in this way, the whole centre filled with a diaper pattern cut off anywhere to

make it the right size. The talk about "Delhi" rugs can hardly amount to much, for Delhi holds prodigious fairs, to which textile fabrics from far away would naturally be brought. Masulipatam gives name to some, and Benares to others; but who shall say how far these names are given correctly? It is greatly to be regretted that the house of Vincent Robinson is not represented by an "expert" in these matters. This establishment at least goes directly to India for its carpets; and, as the artistic feeling of the designers is found to be already spoiled by orders from Europe in the more settled and frequented districts, year by year the purchases are made in more and more remote provinces in the hope of fine and purely native designs. It is probable that other importers do the same. The firm of Watson, Boutor & Co. does not exhibit at Philadelphia; they import largely, and it is probable that the majority of India rugs in England pass through their hands. If either this house or the one named before were directly represented in Philadelphia, some exact knowledge of the geography of India carpets might possibly be obtained.

But as for small rugs, those from three feet by six upward to six feet by ten, nothing is to be found so rich and varied as the Persian display. Here, again, our geographical description fails us. There are no means at hand of confirming the ascriptions to this and that province which are commonly made. There are cases even in which there is doubt whether India or Persia should be credited with a beautiful stuff; but none of these difficulties offers itself at the Exhibition, unless there should be some doubt about one fine rug in the Robinson alcove. That one is 4 2 by 6 5; it has a border of black ground with figures; the ground of the centre is white, with a great circular figure filling it from side to side. It is one of the most interesting rugs in the Exhibition, a fine work of art in its way, remarkable in having sharp and decided contrast for its motive, instead of gentle gradations of color; its price is \$146, including the duty. Its near neighbor, a square rug, white, with a pattern in green and pink, and priced \$150, is as unusual in character. This would be a difficult rug to use in furnishing a room. Its very odd and not wholly agreeable chord of color would require especial surroundings. It is a "museum piece," and ought to be kept on exhibition somewhere. There is another rug in this alcove, 4 1 by 6 7, with an orange centre, priced at \$146, and one about the same size in the Gregory alcove adjoining, with a centre of uniform dark blue, priced £7 10s. in bond—both very fine and very unusual in character.

The visitor should go from this English section across to the northwest corner of the Main Building, where Messrs. W. & J. Sloane of New York exhibit their importations. Perhaps a dozen delicate and beautiful Persian and other rugs are here together; they are hung at different heights, and it is hard to compare a rug one can reach with one ten feet above the head, but all are interesting in design, and in general the fineness and delicacy of the fabric vary with the price. Among them all there is one that should be observed with especial care. It is small, blue in general effect, differing from its neighbors in degree of excellence rather than in kind; its price is \$275. It finds its match, and perhaps more than its match, in one other in the Exhibition, of which hereafter. It is one of several imported a year ago by the Messrs. Sloane, and made, as is asserted, under peculiar circumstances—namely, as the especial handiwork of this or that lady of quality; as her sampler, shall we say? All Persian and Indian rugs are hand-made, and made not in factories but in the dwellings of the people. But the extraordinary delicacy and necessarily great cost of these gems we are considering make excusable almost any "yarn" about their origin. At the Sloane warehouses in New York there are two or three of these superlative rugs, of which one, at least, is superior in quality as it is in size and price to the one at Philadelphia. And in the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts there is one, perhaps, as delicate as any of these, which was imported by Bumstead & Co., and bought by Mr. Perkins for the Museum two or three years ago. These rugs are all of a surface like velvet; the nap is short, very dense and thick, offering a smooth surface very firm and solid to the touch, hardly yielding to pressure. It would be interesting to see the process of weaving these, and the looms on which they are made, and to compare these with the Aubusson loom and with the process of making the tapestries of France. There is, no doubt, a radical difference in their make, but the similar delicacy of the resulting fabric suggests a similarity in process of manufacture which it would be interesting to trace. In the matter of design, which is our chief business at present, these exquisite rugs are not so superior to their less costly brethren as to challenge comparison. As much beauty of color and of pattern can be had, sometimes, for a hundred dollars as for five hundred. But these fine ones have their special character too. Are they made to hang up? are they intended to cover divans? They can hardly be intended for use in the way we can best use them here—as table-cloths. However

that is, their design is invariably very minute, very finely subdivided, the whole surface covered with a delicate play of small patterns and of colors not contrasting very forcibly with one another. The largest of all these—the five-hundred-and-fifty-dollar one at Sloane's—is wholly covered with a small diapering of subdued shades of warm color on a white ground, except for a narrow border of almost the same hues. There is one of these high-class rugs in the exhibit of Vincent Robinson, 4' 3" by 6' 7", and priced at \$355 currency. With such opportunity for comparison as is given, when things are so far apart, in place or in time, we incline to consider this one the most perfect of all the lot we are considering, and therefore the finest rug in the Exhibition. R. S.

Notes.

HURD & HOUGHTON have published in handsome form a translation of Julian Klaczko's 'Two Chancellors,' by Frank P. Ward. The work has already been introduced to our readers in the letter from our Paris Correspondent printed in No. 563 of the *Nation*.—The index to the first ten volumes of *Scribner's Monthly* (Nov., 1870, to Oct., 1875) fills 80 pages 8vo, and is attractively printed. Owing to the different character and scope of the magazines, this index is less valuable apart from the volumes which it unlocks than is that of *Harpers's Monthly*.—Vol. V. of the Centennial edition of Bancroft's 'History of the United States' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) ends with Cornwallis taking possession of Philadelphia.—'The Tour of the Prince of Wales in India,' including his visits to the courts of Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal, is announced by Sampson Low & Co. to appear next October. The narrative will be by Dr. W. H. Russell, the illustrations by Mr. Sidney Hall, the Prince's private artist, from hitherto unpublished sketches. The price of the work will, in expectation of a popular demand for it, not be excessive.

—We are glad to learn from a printed circular that the Faculty of Antioch College has been moved to investigate and expose the "Great Western Literary Bureau," alias "Great American Literary Association of Yellow Springs, Ohio," to whose fraudulent operations we called their attention last fall. It appears that the "Bureau" was organized in 1871, and conducted by "two young gentlemen whose names are now withheld." Their successor, the "Association," was one William M. Hafner, who has from time to time varied the monotony of his name by styling himself H. H. Hay, Ferdinand Otto, and Mrs. McRoy, and the monotony of living at one place by having letters addressed to him at Fairfield, Osborn, Clifton, Xenia, and Dayton, as well as Yellow Springs. His literary qualifications have been derived wholly from his studies, long since terminated, in the preparatory department of the College, and they have not proved sufficient to keep him from "plagiarism," from "obtaining articles from their authors upon false pretences," and from "selling the same production repeatedly." In other words, he is a fit subject for the penitentiary.

—We have received, wholly unheralded, a translation by John J. Lalor and Alfred B. Mason of Part I. of Dr. H. von Holst's 'Constitutional and Political History of the United States' (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.) Our opinion of this remarkable work has already been expressed, apropos of the German edition, in No. 466 of the *Nation*. The translators are quite right in judging it to be one of the fittest literary historical monuments of the Centennial year, and as such they offer it to the public, who, we are sure, will both appreciate and reward their labors. Dr. von Holst himself contributes to it a special introduction, composed in English, partly explanatory of the way in which he came to undertake a task of such magnitude, partly apologetic of shortcomings which a foreigner can hardly escape. Of these last he remarks truly that they are of the least consequence to American readers, who, if they ever feel the author's lack of the national sentiment, have always the corrective in themselves. He tells how he came to this country as an emigrant, and took the first opportunity of registering his intention to become an American citizen. A disciple of Laboulaye, he brought with him an idolizing regard for the great Republic, and was, as he says, "rather unprepared for Tammany Hall, the first institution I got somewhat better acquainted with."

"For a long time I was fairly bewildered by the throng of most opposite impressions, and, even after I had read and studied many a good book, I searched in vain for a thread to lead me safely through this labyrinth. Only very gradually I succeeded in finding out what, up to this day, seems to me the one reason why all my efforts thus far had resembled so much a wild-goose chase. Without being fully conscious of it, I expected to find in everything something particular, quite different from what was known to me either by study or by personal observation; and this all the books I had read had failed to distinctly show me as a mistake which could not but

be fatal to the success of my studies. That I at last became aware of the mistake is the explanation of the claim raised before [above] that I have studied and written with more soberness of mind than any of my predecessors.

Nothing was left of either the misty vagueness of the grand and wonderful fairy-tale or of the prickling atmosphere of the strange puzzle: I felt myself standing in the fresh and clear air of stern historical truth."

The translators announce that hereafter their version will keep pace with the progress of the parts yet to appear—the present dealing with State-sovereignty and Slavery (1750–1833). They have been fortunate in one respect, namely, that in the original edition Dr. von Holst's frequent citations from his authorities are always in English—a practice which, if it had been observed by Dr. Kapp in his historical series, would have rendered their translation a much less formidable undertaking than it must be now, even with direct guidance from the writer to chapter and verse.

—The fourth volume of the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) is, in the variety and treatment of its subject-matter, but little if at all inferior to its predecessors. Though lacking the co-operation of the many eminent names presented by the preceding volumes, it nevertheless embraces among its contributors a number of men widely distinguished in the field of their own special research. A more than usual share of space is allotted to biographical notices, but the preponderance of scientific subjects is quite as apparent as heretofore. Among the contributions of note and of general interest may be mentioned the essays on Lord Brougham, Chevalier Bunsen (by his son, Georg von Bunsen), Bunyan, Burke (by John Morley, 12 pages), Robert Burns, Bishop Butler, Byron (7 pages), Calvin, and Camoens, and the articles on Brahmanism (by Julius Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit at University College, London), Buddhism, Building (66 pages), Calendar, and Canal. The geographical articles are numerous and important, and comprise among others Bolivia and Brazil (both by Keith Johnston), Bombay (by W. W. Hunter), Borneo, Canada, and California, the last by Prof. J. D. Whitney, the geologist. We have already had occasion in our previous notices to point out glaring blunders in relation to the extent of the Argentine Republic and the location of Pensacola; we must now point out one equally gross in the case of Borneo, whose area is given on the authority of Melvill von Carnbee at 12,745 square miles—an obvious confusion of German with English measures. The carelessness with which some of the geographical articles are revised is, indeed, truly amazing. Thus, under 'Africa,' Vol. I. p. 254, we are told that the Cunene River has a south-eastward course; again, on p. 255 of the same article, the Tioge is represented as flowing north-east; on the same page, Lake Baringo is placed north-west of the Victoria Nyanza; and lastly, on the following page, it is stated that the Hamattan blows on the east coasts of the Sahara. Sir John Herschel, if we recollect rightly, in the table appended to his elaborate treatise on 'Physical Geography,' contributed to the last edition of this work, located some of the highest summits of the White Mountains in Massachusetts. While deprecating the occurrence of such indefensible errors in a work having the reputation of the Britannica, we must admit, on the other hand, that the treatment of technical subjects leaves little to be desired. The articles on Botany (by Prof. J. Hutton Balfour of Edinburgh) and Bridges (by Prof. Fleeming Jenkin, also of Edinburgh) cover 84 and 56 pages respectively, and form complete treatises in themselves. Both are profusely illustrated by means of wood-cuts and steel engravings. Other noteworthy scientific articles are Brachiopoda (in which a marked tribute is paid to our own laborer in the field, Prof. E. S. Morse), Butterflies and Moths, and Breeds, the last from the pen of Mr. Francis Darwin, a son of Charles Darwin. There are two full-page maps—of California and of British America.

—The 'Annual Register' for 1875 (London: Rivingtons) maintains its excellent character as a chronicle of the events of the year in all civilized countries. Its chapter of remarkable trials embraces that of the city editor of the *Times* and his co-defendant, the notorious Albert Grant—known as the City Libel Case; the St. Leonards' Will Case; the Whitechapel Murder; and Keet v. Smith and others, or the Wesleyan minister's right to the title of "Reverend." The more important state-papers given at length are Gortchakoff's letter to Shuvaloff on England's refusal to join the St. Petersburg Conference on the usages of war; the report of the Foreign Loans Committee; the court-martial finding on the loss of the *Vanguard*; and the Admiralty circular on Fugitive Slaves and the Queen's ships. These are followed by abstracts of various reports concerning British interests, such as the Indian census, agricultural and trade returns, census of factories, post-offices, army and police statistics, statistics of railways, wrecks, etc., etc. The politics of the United States have more space by one-half allotted to them than was the case last year, and on the whole the perspective of the review is beyond criticism. The exposure of Indian

frauds, and Secretary Delano's resignation in consequence, are the only important topics that go unmentioned. The whiskey frauds and the Beecher trial are barely mentioned, and there will be few Americans to blame the compiler for that. In the narrative of the Louisiana difficulties, the unconstitutional exercise of authority is duly pointed out, but something more might have been made of the Wheeler Compromise, both on account of its extraordinary nature as an extra-official and extra-legal way out of an apparently hopeless muddle, and on account of its demonstrating an unexpected moderation in the Southern character. The case of Arkansas, too, would have borne a greater enlargement. That the Civil-rights Bill was, very soon after its passage, declared unconstitutional in several courts; and that the outgoing supporters of the luckless Force Bill in the House were carefully provided with office by the Administration, are facts that might appropriately have been noticed. "Mr. Fisk" for "Mr. Fish," "Edmonds" for "Edmunds," and "Conshatta" for "Coushatta," are the only errors we have noticed, and these are clearly typographical.

—One of the penalties of a civilization which is able to carry passengers from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean in less than four days, is the compulsory transportation of contagion and insect pests at correspondingly rapid rates. The march of the Colorado beetle, however, from the Rocky Mountains to Passamaquoddy Bay, which we expect him to reach this year, must be regarded as rather slow, since it has taken him something more than half a century to get over the ground with all the modern conveniences for locomotion. Fifty years ago the observations of a Missouri entomologist would have had little interest for a cultivator of the soil in Maine, who now, thanks to the appearance of the inexorable potato-bug, suddenly wakes up to the fact that Dr. Charles V. Riley's annual reports have something more than a fresh-water and inland utility; that though paid for by the State of Missouri their value is not local merely. In his eighth report, just received, the Colorado potato-beetle has the post of honor, and we learn what it will feed on, what will feed on it, what Paris green and sundry patent mixtures will do for it, what its native haunt is, etc., etc. Dr. Riley mentions two new natural enemies of it, one being our friend the common crow, which "even digs up the ground to get at them after they have entered it to hibernate." More briefly we are told of the canker-worm, and more at length of the army-worm, whose enemies are legion, and manage to keep them down so effectually that "two great army-worm years have never followed each other, and are not likely to do so." The greatest space is naturally allowed to the Rocky Mountain locust, which Dr. Riley does not regard as a divine visitation, and does not believe can ever obtain a permanent settlement in Missouri. Some of the compensations for the destruction which it caused last year are curious and noteworthy. Thus, the locusts robbed the dreaded chinch-bugs of the vegetation on which they commonly lay their eggs unseen, so that they were obliged to lay them in exposed situations where the young broods were doomed to perish. The result is that exemption from this pest—which the Missouri farmer has always with him—is secured for two years at least, and the same is true of many other insects. Then, again, the locusts in dying left a rich coating of manure, which made the soil of the stricken country unusually productive. In fact, the fruit-growers suffered much more heavily than the grain-growers and stock-raisers. After the devastation was over, there was a great prevalence of plants which in ordinary seasons are scarcely noticed, among them the grass known as *Vilfa vaginiflora*, generally suppressed in the struggle for existence with the blue-grass, but which sprang up whenever that was killed, and, while young and tender, furnished a fattening nutriment to the cattle. Dr. Riley's account of his experiments to test the edibility and palatability of locusts is extremely entertaining. He succeeded in demonstrating that they make excellent soup, and can be served up in a batter as cakes, or simply baked or fried. "When freshly caught in large quantities, the mangled mass presents a not very appetizing appearance, and emits a rather strong and not over-pleasant odor; but, rinsed and scalded, they turn a brownish-red, look much more inviting, and give no disagreeable smell."

—We are sorry to announce that we have detected the Baltimore *American*—a very respectable paper—in an act of very gross "journalism." The *Nation* of June 8 drew attention to the notorious and long-established rule of political morals that legislative and judicial officers ought to keep out of commercial enterprises or speculations which seem likely to bring their public duty into conflict with their private interest—a rule which Mr. Blaine recognized when he said he "could not touch" an interest in the Northern Pacific stock. Our language was:

"It ought not to be forgotten, and we see that Mr. Blaine himself has not forgotten it, that the position of a legislator towards persons who are calling, or are likely to call, for the exercise of his powers for their private benefit,

is essentially a judicial position. He has to decide between them and the public. His first duty is, therefore, not to accept favors from them, or put himself under any obligations to them, or become interested in the success of their enterprises."

The Baltimore *American* thereupon journalized the above in its issue of June 10, at the close of a long article, as follows:

"Is it seriously supposed that we could have a Government capable of transacting the business of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches if it were seriously held that all members of it must be prohibited from money investments and be required to relinquish all interest in the ordinary pursuits of life? Such a rule would, in fact, be the most effectual means of creating a class of professional politicians, who, being forbidden to make money out of politics, would be the more dependent on making it inside of politics."

Here we see it is set down as a positive fact that the *Nation* has protested against the admission to public office of anybody who has invested money in anything whatever. This is one of the best cases we have seen since Mr. Louis J. Jennings left the *New York Times*.

—"In spite of the new regulation by which an artist is allowed to exhibit but two works, the Paris Salon of 1876," writes a correspondent, "has a longer catalogue than that of last year. It numbers 2,095 oil-pictures, 621 pieces of sculpture, and a very long list of water-colors, drawings, and cartoons. Among these works none has become strikingly conspicuous; there is no 'picture of the year,' as there has so often been; no revelation of a new talent or particular happy hit of an old one. The general level of ability, if not of interest, is high, however, and the Salon of 1876 is a very good average exhibition. The most valuable work of the year is to be found in the department of sculpture, where it has given a really brilliant lustre to the name, already well-known, of M. Paul Dubois. The two figures of M. Dubois excite extreme admiration, but they cannot perhaps be said to have acquired notoriety, inasmuch as that admiration is confined to people of what is called 'quiet taste.' Such people just now rank M. Dubois very high—some of them perhaps a trifle too high. The figures in question form part of a monument to be erected to General Lamoricière at his native city of Nantes, and they are entitled respectively 'Charity' and 'Military Courage.' They are to be seated at two of the angles of the pedestal supporting the statue of the hero, which, with the figures for the other angles, will presumably be exhibited next year. 'Charity' is a young woman with two infants in her lap, one of them asleep and the other with his lips at her breast. Her head, draped down to the brow in a voluminous cloth, is erect, but her eyes are bent upon the children, and her two arms are extended with a movement of extraordinary grace, as if to close them toward her, without touching them. Her drapery, a trifle realistic, is the plain bodice and scant, simply-falling skirt, of heavy material, of the peasant-woman. This figure has an extraordinary beauty, of a kind that it is very difficult to define, being at once very simple in its effect and profoundly suggestive of all the delicately assimilated culture which has nourished the artist's talent and enriched his inspiration. The face is admirable, the harmony and fluidity and at the same time severe intention of the lines most noble, the expression of the whole figure singularly touching and pure. One feels that the artist has placed his ideal very high, and that, on the whole, his powers of execution have sustained him in his effort to reach it. The image of 'Military Courage' is even more interesting. It represents a young man in a helmet, with a little winged dragon couchant on the top of it, seated, with his left hand resting on the hilt of his upright sword, and his right hand, with the fist closed, upon his knee. The skin of a beast hangs over his shoulders, with the fore-claws knotted upon his breast; he wears a sort of coat-of-mail and kilt, but his legs and arms are bare. The sentiment and intelligence shown by M. Dubois in the type, attitude, and expression of his young soldier form a remarkable combination of imagination and culture. Anything less vulgar, less brutal, less allied to the usual representation of the virtue of which the artist has sought to give an image, it would be difficult to imagine; the figure is almost too reflective, too sedentary. But, rightly viewed, it is supremely impressive; it represents the courage in which passion has been purified by intelligence, and which holds itself ready to fight for conscience' sake. The young man is, as the French say, *sur de son affaire*. Like his companion-figure, he suggests two or three great models; it is not probable that he would have been exactly what he is if M. Dubois had not looked very often at Michael Angelo's 'Lorenzo de' Medici' at Florence. The shadow of the helmet falls across the brow in a manner which recalls the ever-unlighted forehead of that great figure, and the fashion of the nose, mouth, and jaw is a memory of Michael Angelo. M. Dubois is certainly a sculptor, and sees things as a sculptor—sees lines and forms and contours, and not intentions, motives, and dramatic effects. But his two figures seem to me to lack just that supreme element of ease and independence

which makes the work that is rarest in quality. Still, in its intelligence, purity, and high plastic tendency, the quality of his work is very rare."

MARKET FLUCTUATIONS.*

THE literature of political economy has within a few years been enriched by several English treatises of a high order on special subjects belonging to the general domain of finance. Among these, Gûschen's 'Theory of the Foreign Exchanges' and Bagehot's 'Lombard Street' are conspicuous examples. The book which is the subject of the present notice belongs to the same category.

The fluctuations of markets increase with the development of industry and the quickening of all social exchanges. Before the introduction of steam and the telegraph, and before the credit and banking system had reached their present perfect organization, there was more steadiness in the markets of all countries, because they were much less subject to foreign influences. Now, whatever acts favorably or unfavorably on the markets of one country is instantly reflected in the markets of all others. There is a constant tendency towards equilibrium, and whenever the balance is disturbed there is an instant effort to restore it. "The existing system is, in fact, very much like that in the Bessemer saloon-steamer, where men are employed continually adjusting the movements of the swinging saloon, in obedience to the indications of the spirit-level on which their eyes are fixed."

The writer of the present volume endeavors to show, "first, that market fluctuations are never without some cause, and, second, that these fluctuations are exaggerated in all cases." His observations are not confined to speculative markets, the movements of which are necessarily more obscure and, if we may be allowed the expression, sentimental, but are extended as well to markets of the most stable commodities; and the causes which influence each are pointed out with much distinctness, and illustrated by many pertinent examples. Markets are stubborn facts, and must be accepted and dealt with as such, as well by statesmen as by men of business. Their traditions cannot safely be ignored or overridden. Mr. Lowe, one of the most learned Chancellors of the Exchequer, but a doctrinaire, "still incurs much censure and has lost much popularity on account of the derangement to the money market which he caused when he altered the system of collecting taxes, so as to bring the bulk of the Treasury receipts into the Bank of England in one quarter of the year, so draining the market of its usual supply, disturbing the steady circulation of that blood of commerce, causing congestion, possibly inflammation and disfigurement, but certainly annoyance."

There are some notable exceptions to the tendency toward equilibrium in the labor market of particular countries. Thus, in England, there is a wide difference between the wages of agricultural labor in counties not very remote from each other, and Mr. Cliffe Leslie has lately shown that the same disparity exists in adjacent districts on the continent of Europe. Ignorance, combined with poverty so abject as practically to chain the laborer to the soil he cultivates, are the assigned reasons for this disparity. A recent correspondent of the *Nation* has pointed out the irreconcilable competition which exists in California between Chinese and native labor. It is usually assumed that the laboring classes of all countries, when subjected to the same influences, will assimilate, and, having essentially the same wants, will be entitled to the same wages; but how can the American laborer, born and bred to a decent regard for the usages of civilized life, possibly compete with the Chinaman who "never adopts an iota of our civilization," who subsists on "a diet of rice and entrails," lodges in a coal-hole, wears "clothing of the simplest pattern and cheapest material," and is withal patient, industrious, and skilful?

The importance which in England attaches to the harvest is well known, but probably few foreigners understand precisely why the harvest has the stimulating or depressing influence which is there assigned to it. The matter is thus explained: a demand for products must start with the consumer; the consumption of the laboring classes, outside of bare subsistence, depends on the price of food. With a bad harvest food is high, and the laborer's margin for other things is little or nothing; with a good harvest it is considerable, and that of many laborers amounts to a large sum added to the purchase fund of other articles than food. This fund goes to increase consumption, but it does not, except through the slow medium of realized profits, go into the general loan fund available to producers; consequently, it raises prices by quickening demand, while it does not inure soon enough to the benefit of production to increase supply in a corre-

sponding manner. This state of things is peculiar to countries in which the laboring classes earn a bare subsistence. Therefore it is that the condition of the harvests in this country, where most laborers earn at all times much more than a bare subsistence, has a very different bearing from what it has in Europe. The difference between a good and bad crop in America has very little immediate influence on the consumption of other things; it affects the laborer's savings much more than his consumption. Large or small crops do not greatly affect the trade of the country, except as they co-operate with the grain markets of other countries.

It is a familiar fact, as stated by our author, that "a small increase or a small decrease of supply on a market will have a disproportionately great effect on the price," and it can never be predicted, with any accuracy, how great that effect will be. It is said that "when labor is decreased 20 per cent. prices go up 60 per cent." When the cattle plague was under discussion in Parliament in 1866, and the question was how the farmers were to be compensated for the cattle destroyed by the public authorities, John Stuart Mill, to the great disgust of the country gentlemen, reminded the House of the familiar economical law, that the commercial value of a short harvest is greater than that of an abundant one, and that, therefore, the farmers had gained rather than lost by the killing of their cattle. Hesiod was evidently the author of this economic axiom, and furnished a text for Mr. Mill's homily in his famous saying: "Fools are they, since they do not know by how much the half is more than the whole."

There is no doubt, also, much truth in the following proposition, namely, that "the further prices sink, the more ready are they to respond to any revived demand; and the higher they rise, the less strong are they." It must, however, be accepted with this limitation, that the prices in question shall be of such things only as have intrinsic value, and that no great and permanent influences have arisen to increase or depress them. It would be very unsafe, for example, to assume that the late inflated prices caused in this country by a redundant currency can be restored except by the same vicarious agency. The present low price of loanable capital is, of course, due much more to idleness and distrust than to superabundance. Indeed, the supply must very seriously have been curtailed by over-investment in fixed property, much of which is worthless. But the curtailing of production has been still greater, and the revival will be slow. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that for some time to come capital will be cheap for the service of legitimate enterprises; and as cheap capital stimulates production, we may anticipate a great increase in all products. The margin of profit or savings, which is always a large sum in the aggregate, will increase the loan fund, and thus tend permanently to lessen rates of interest. It may be safely assumed that more than one decade will intervene before this country grows up to its present railway system; and it is not easy to see any other form of fixed investment which can absorb so much capital, and absorb it so rapidly, as the construction of railways has done within the last ten years. Why is not this view encouraging to the owners of land, at least of improved land yielding rent?

Under the head of "Money" we find some excellent comments on the Collie scandals. The spirit of competition among bankers is contrasted with the spirit of co-operation, and it is justly argued that they would gain more by exchanging facts and opinions about their customers than by following the secretive and antagonistic methods of doing business now in vogue. This habit of privacy in all that pertains to one's own affairs is far more English than American. An English banker of high authority, in commenting on the examination of banks under the national banking system of the United States to an American friend, expressed the greatest surprise that the examiner should be allowed to see the paper under discount, and said that English bankers would never submit to such a system. Contrast with this that striking provision of the Louisiana Bank Act of 1842 which required a New Orleans bank, in which a note went to protest, to notify every other bank of the fact, and prohibited them all from discounting the paper of the party thus discredited until he had paid up in full. The Collie frauds were the direct consequence of that spirit of privacy which dares not even to ask the questions necessary to proper information lest it should betray the nature of the enquirer's dealings.

A good deal has been lately said in the English papers about the effect of the fall of silver on the trade with India. It will be remembered that the prevailing currency of India is silver. The following passage presents the subject in a clear light:

"When silver falls in value, imports of goods into India are checked, our shippers want more of the Indian currency than before to compensate them for its decreased value, and this, having all the effect of making prices dear, checks the demand for goods; and, on the other hand, exports of Indian produce are just as much stimulated, for gold can be obtained for them,

* 'The Rationale of Market Fluctuations. By a City Editor.' London: Effingham Wilson. 1870. 22mo, pp. 150.

and gold has become more valuable in its relations to silver. So that in the case of a fall in the value of silver, India exports more in order to get gold prices, and imports less in order to avoid paying the enhanced silver prices; and as this must leave an increased balance in favor of India, money must be sent to settle it. When the value of silver rises, the rule, of course, has an inverse application, and it absorbs less."

An element of disturbance of markets which is much more keenly felt in Europe than in America, thanks to our living in another hemisphere, is the fear of war. Actual war spreads its influence into the markets of all countries, but apprehended or possible war does not seriously affect the money market of countries out of its probable path. At this moment the Eastern complications affect directly only the grain markets of the United States, but they are acting with immediate force on all the markets of Europe. Our author points out the nature of this depressing influence in the following quoted passage:

"The revival of alarmist rumors is a distinct hindrance to any revival of trade which might otherwise be at hand. Unless enterprises of magnitude have time for development they will not be commenced, and thus the existence of disquieting rumors, like those now agitating European capital, deprives the capitalist of that assurance of time for development which is necessary to tempt him into a great investment."

PESTALOZZI.*

HEINRICH PESTALOZZI was born in 1746 at Zurich, in the German part of Switzerland. His ancestors were Italian Protestants who were expelled from Italy by religious persecution. His father died when the boy was six years old, and his mother did not remarry. His constitution was delicate and sickly. At school he incessantly committed errors and fell into scrapes because of the excess of his feelings and imagination, but in his light-heartedness he quickly forgot his troubles. He never excelled in those branches which tax merely imitation and memory; he neglected orthography and penmanship, and his reason for abandoning the profession which he at first selected was that he made mistakes in repeating the Lord's Prayer and stopped short in his sermons (which he was obliged to commit to memory). After quitting the ministry he studied law, with a view to political reform, but was dissatisfied by perceiving the insufficiency of human legislation to do away with abuses. He abandoned the law for agriculture, in order to support the lady whom he wished to marry. The letter in which he proposed himself to her is so characteristic as to be worth quoting from:

"My failings which appear to me the most important in relation to the future are improvidence, want of caution, and want of that presence of mind which is necessary to meet unexpected changes in my future prospects. I hope, by continued exertions, to overcome them; but know that I possess them still to a degree which does not allow me to conceal them from the maiden I love. They are faults, my dear, which deserve your fullest consideration. I possess yet other failings, which must be chiefly attributed to my irritability of temper and oversensitiveness. I go to extremes in my praise as well as in my blame, in my likings and dislikings. I also enter into plans and schemes with such fervor as to exceed proper limits, and my general sympathy is such that I feel unhappy in the misery of my fatherland and friends. Of my great and very reprehensible negligence in matters of etiquette and conventionality it is useless to speak, as it is too obvious. I am further bound to confess that I shall place the duties toward my fatherland in advance of those to my wife, and that I shall be inexorable even to her tears if they should ever try to detain me from performing my duties as citizen. My wife shall be the confidant of my heart, the partner of all my most secret counsel. A great and holy simplicity shall reign in my house. One thing more, my life will not pass without great and important undertakings. I shall never refrain from speaking boldly when the good of my country demands it. My whole heart belongs to it, and I shall risk everything to mitigate the misery and need of my countrymen."

To this lady, Anna Schulthess, he was united in his twenty-fourth year. He bought an uncultivated tract of one hundred acres in the canton of Aargau, in order to cultivate madder as a profitable speculation. But he became interested in the labor question, publicly advocated industrial schools for the poor, and started one on his own farm to set the example, and began weaving cotton cloth. This, being his first extensive financial experiment, naturally failed, but it lasted from 1775 to 1780. His wife sacrificed the greater part of her property to save him from bankruptcy. He said concerning this disaster: "In the midst of the withering sneers of my fellow-men the mighty stream of my heart ebbed and flowed, as it ever had, to stop the sources of misery. My failure even showed me the truth of my plans. I was always deceived where nobody was; and where all were deceived, there I saw light." From 1780 to 1798 he wrote six books, of which the most popular was "Leonard and Gertrude," a tale in imitation of the style of Marmontel. His remuneration from the publisher for this book was to be

"three dollars per sheet, with twenty dollars additional if it should reach a second edition."

One cause of Pestalozzi's poverty was his uncalculating benevolence, which the following anecdote illustrates. When in great need he once borrowed from a friend \$100, and on his way home he met a poor peasant wringing his hands in distress. On being asked the reason of his grief, the peasant answered that his house had been burned and he was without shelter. This was too much for the feelings of Pestalozzi. Forgetting his own errand he put all the borrowed money into the hand of the peasant, and hurried off to his own desolate home. Arriving there without money and telling his story, his wife asked whether he knew the name of the fortunate receiver. "I do not know the man," he said, "but he looked so poor and honest that I am sure he must be good."

In 1798 he tried his second educational experiment. Napoleon had just conquered Switzerland, and had punished Unterwalden, the only canton which had made an armed resistance against him, by burning every village it contained except one. To this one village, Stanz, the destitute people flocked, and Pestalozzi made an offer to the Government to go there and collect and instruct the poorest of the children. His offer was accepted, and an empty convent was assigned him. Before it was made ready, orphan children came to it in large numbers. He had no school-furniture or apparatus, and he governed by love. His own words are too remarkable not to be quoted:

"I was among them from morning till evening. Everything tending to benefit body and soul I administered with my own hand. Every assistance, every lesson they received, came from me. My hand was joined to theirs, and my smile accompanied theirs. They seemed out of the world and away from Stanz; they were with me and I with them. We shared food and drink. I had no household, no friends, no servants around me; I had only them. I slept in their midst, and taught them in bed until they fell asleep."

His aim evidently was to make a school resemble a family. He relied less on words than on actions to enlist the sympathy of the children. At Stanz no text-books whatever were employed. Whether permanent organization could have been maintained without books remains unproved, for in 1799 a French company in retreat quartered itself in the convent and dispersed the occupants. Pestalozzi immediately demanded new employment and accepted the first vacancy, which was a subordinate position in a school at Burgdorf, in the canton of Berne. The head master became jealous of the affection and attention of the scholars to their new teacher, and got him discharged on the ground, among other pretexts, that he did not know how to read and spell correctly. He next applied for occupation in a school, also in Burgdorf, where children from five to ten years old were taught by an old dame. It was given to him to relieve the lady, and he introduced a series of object lessons, an innovation which encountered opposition from parents. A man said to him: "Why, these exercises are so simple that my wife and I could give them at home." "The very thing you ought to do," replied Pestalozzi, delighted to have an opportunity to speak in behalf of domestic education. In 1800 he proposed to a neighboring teacher, Hermann Krüsi, the father of the author, that they should commence a private school in partnership. An old castle on a rocky eminence, which had formerly been occupied by a governor of the district, was offered them free of rent. They soon won confidence, pupils increased, and such enthusiasm was aroused in them that the school became famous all over Europe. In 1802, as a result of Napoleon's influence, the obsolete governorship was restored, the castle reoccupied, and the school turned out of doors. The institution was soon reassembled at the castle of Yverdon, at the southern end of Lake Neuchâtel, and flourished for many years. Dissensions among the teachers finally broke it up in 1825, and its founder died two years later.

Our space does not allow us to explain the methods by which Pestalozzi sought to substitute realities in place of words. But what few anecdotes are told of him remind us of the so-called "Gospel of the Infancy," in which it is related that Jesus refused to learn the name of the letter B until the signification of the letter A had been made clear to him, and that he remained so obstinate in this refusal, even after being flogged for it, that he had to be expelled from the school. It will at once be inferred that Pestalozzi employed the phonetic method of teaching spelling, and that one of his cardinal principles was never to teach a second step or fact until the first had been thoroughly understood in all its bearings (a truth which it would be well always to bear in mind concerning the political education of a nation). When we speak of the "principles" of Pestalozzi, it should be explained that we mean rather those of his disciples, for his own principles were felt by him rather than clearly thought out or uttered. He knew how to teach, but he could not express this knowledge in laws.

*Pestalozzi: His Life, Work, and Influence. By Hermann Krüsi, A.M., son of Pestalozzi's first associate. Cincinnati and New York: Wilson, Hinkle & Co.

He was continually experimenting and changing. His associates were infected by his example, and it was thus that the reform spread. His assistants and students became disseminators of his spirit in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Spain. In the last-named country the chief minister, Godoy, founded the Pestalozzian Royal Military School in 1807. In 1808, through the influence of Queen Louisa, the Prussian Government sent twelve young men to Yverdon to become acquainted with the details of Pestalozzi's principles and methods, so that they might be introduced more rapidly into the Prussian schools. The students were selected with great care by Süvern, Minister of Education, and on their departure the latter said to them:

"The object in sending you to Pestalozzi is not merely that you may study the external or formal part of this system, or to acquire skill in teaching, but that you may warm yourselves at the sacred fire which is glowing in the bosom of that man, who is full of power and love; that you may walk in a similar spirit in the path of truth and in the observation of the laws of nature; that you may become simple as children, in order to obtain the key with which to open the sacred temple of childhood; that you may never forget that a knowledge of the elementary part of each science is the most difficult to obtain, since it requires a thorough perception of the realities of things; that the characteristic feature of the Pestalozzian method is the fact of its being equally adapted for scientific research and for popular application, since it does not spoil the desire for knowledge by light and unwholesome food, but strengthens it by vigorous nourishment."

Napoleon did what he could to destroy the new principles, and his success was lasting in Spain and France, though not in Germany. In the United States the Oswego Training School for a long time furnished a representative of Pestalozzianism as adequate as circumstances admitted, and the Oswego graduates throughout the country may be referred to as illustrations, with the qualification that our national tendency to materialism has led to a premature stiffening of methods into routine which is rendering the Oswego school yearly further off from the perennially fresh momentum of Pestalozzi. We wish that Mr. Krüsi had related more anecdotes concerning his father's friend, for he must have heard many, and he has underrated their value. We will quote another specimen of the few that are printed:

"Having undertaken a journey on foot [from Yverdon] to the town of Solothurn, he met a beggar, who asked for alms. Pestalozzi, who could never refuse any appeal of that kind, searched his pockets for money, but found that it had already taken to itself wings. In order not to disappoint the man, whom he saw anxiously watching him, he looked about his person and found that he could easily spare his silver shoe-buckles. These he accordingly gave to the beggar. Finding afterward, however, that the shoes had a tendency to slip from his feet, he fastened them with bits of straw, and thus trampled along the dusty road. On entering the gates of the city he was arrested by a policeman as a vagabond. He expostulated in vain, and could not convince his uninvited companion of his respectability. As a last resort, he asked to be taken before the Mayor, who at once recognized his esteemed friend, and embraced him."

One of his books has a political bearing, 'Figures to my Spelling Book.' It is a collection of fables. Here is one:

"The fishes of a pond complained that they were persecuted by the pikes; whereupon an old pike, who was the judge of the pond, pronounced this sentence: 'The defendants, to make amends, shall in future permit every year two common fishes to become pikes.'"

The introductory fable is perhaps a justification of his own occupation against the labor reformers of his time. It is called "The Painter of Men":

"He stood at the easel, and the people thronged around him and said: 'So, thou hast turned painter! Truly, thou hadst done better to mend our shoes!' And he answered, 'I would have mended shoes for you; I would have carried stones for you; I would have drawn water for you; but you would not have any of my services; and, therefore, in the compulsory idleness of my despised existence, what else could I do but learn painting.'"

■ *Mandalay to Momiën.* By John Anderson, M.D. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.)—We fear that this book will not have in this country the wide circulation which it has had in England, and which it well deserves. To a large number of well-instructed persons here the very names of its title are barely known and but little regarded, whereas the keen eyes of the British merchant, and others interested more or less directly in British commerce, are always directed to anything which has a bearing on the routes of trade with China. In 1862 the British and Burmese Governments made a treaty of amity and commerce, and the intimacy resulting from this treaty developed the fact that in 1855 the trade between Burma and China had amounted to £500,000, but had since almost entirely ceased. This led to the despatch of an expedition in 1868 under Major Sladen, with instructions "to discover the cause of the cessation of the trade formerly existing by these routes, the exact position held by the Kakhyens,

Shans, and Panthays with reference to that traffic, and their disposition, or otherwise, to resuscitate it; also to examine the physical conditions of these routes." Dr. Anderson accompanied this expedition as medical officer and naturalist, and his account of it occupies three-fourths of the book.

The route chosen was from Mandalay, the capital of Burma, up the Irawady by steamer to Bhamô on the Burmese frontier. Here they began the overland journey on the 2d of March with a train of pack-mules, and crossed the frontier into the Chinese province of Yunnan. They had gone but a short distance beyond it, however, when, on the morning of the 7th of March, the muleteers, without complaint of any kind, deserted in a body, taking their mules with them. The result was that the expedition remained two months in camp, while a large amount of correspondence was carried on to convince the Chinese Panthays of the benefits which would result from opening the trade and of the peaceful intentions of the travellers. Dr. Anderson improved the time in visiting some silver mines, which were at that time not working, and in studying the habits of the Kakhyens, whom he describes as "a perfectly wild race of mountaineers, supplying themselves with most of the necessities of life by rude cultivation. . . . Whether their character has been deteriorated by knavish injustice on the part of Chinese traders, or high-handed extortion and wrong on the part of Burmese, they are at the present time lazy, thievish, and untrustworthy."

The diplomatic difficulties having at length been adjusted, fresh mules were procured, and the expedition moved on about a hundred miles further to Momiën, which was at that time the principal city of the Panthays or Mohammedans of Yunnan. Here they were hospitably entertained by the Governor for a period of six weeks. The Panthays have but little sympathy with their neighbors, being different in character, customs, and manners. Their origin is attributed to "a possible Arab stock to which has been added a considerable number of Turkish emigrants." In 1855 they rebelled against the oppression to which they were subjected by the mandarins, and succeeded in maintaining their own authority throughout nearly the whole of Yunnan, and in defiance of imperial Chinese troops, for seventeen years. This revolt was at its height at the time of Major Sladen's visit, when it seemed even probable that Yunnan would become an independent kingdom; but the very kindness with which he was received by the Mohammedans made it extremely impolitic for him to venture further among the Chinese. The expedition, therefore, returned to Bhamô, varying its course somewhat so as to examine another route for trade and to study the habits of the Shans. These are the descendants of the Tai race, which was conquered by the Chinese in the fourteenth century; and "the little nest of valleys, cradled in the parallel ranges which lie between the Salween and the Irawady, has preserved almost unmixed the relics of the ancient Shan kingdom." They are a thrifty race, though apparently somewhat deficient in spirit. "The women are constantly engaged in weaving and dyeing, for the yarn from home-grown cotton is spun, dyed, and woven by their industrious fingers. They are adepts at needlework and silken embroidery. . . . The great body of the Shan population is engaged in agriculture; and as cultivators they may take rank even with the Belgians. Every inch of ground is utilized, the principal crops being rice, which is grown in small square fields shut in by low embankments, with passages and flood-gates for irrigation. . . . Tobacco, cotton, and opium are grown on the well-drained slopes of the hills."

The expedition reached Bhamô, on its return, in September, having fairly accomplished the objects set forth in its instructions, although without finding many conditions favorable to a revival of the trade. One of the first results of it seems to have been a determination on the part of the Chinese to put down the Mohammedan revolt in Yunnan, and it was completely subdued by the summer of 1874. Meanwhile, the relations between the British and Burmese had become more and more friendly, the native trade had considerably increased, and the British trade was beginning to flourish as the power of the Panthays declined. It was now thought that the time had come for another expedition with almost the same objects as the previous one; and accordingly one was sent out in February, 1875, under Colonel Horace Browne of the Burmese Commission, Dr. Anderson again going as medical officer and naturalist. This expedition was preceded by much diplomatic correspondence with Burma and China, both of whom entered heartily into the project, and gave special passports and instructions to assist the expedition in every way. Hardly had it crossed the Chinese frontier, however, before rumors of opposition were brought to it. Mr. Margary—a talented young official of the British Consular Service, who had made, with only a few attendants, the journey entirely across China from Shanghai to Bhamô—was sent ahead to the next village to enquire into these reports. Here he and his secretary were murdered, and the next day the

expedition was attacked by overwhelming numbers of Chinese and Kakhys, against which it defended itself as best it could, and made its way back to Bhamô. The whole subject of this murder and attack is still involved in considerable mystery, but there can be no doubt that this expedition was a complete failure.

Our synopsis is intended to show the thorough, painstaking, and conscientious character of Dr. Anderson's work. It seems to be without pretension, as it certainly is without brilliancy. In addition to the information contained in the body of the book concerning a country and tribes almost unknown to Europeans, there are appendices concerning their deities and superstitions and a vocabulary of two hundred words in the various dialects of the hill-tribes. The illustrations throughout the book are excellent, but we fear its excessive price will materially reduce its circulation. The question of trade, which was the determining cause of these expeditions, is one of the most important, not alone to British, but also to American, commerce. The day may not be so far distant when American prints and manufactures will undersell those of the British at the mouth of the Irawady; but, putting that aside, and considering only our present trade with China, the establishment of the caravan trade overland from China to Burma would, in connection with the Suez Canal, compete seriously with the present route *via* the Pacific Ocean and railway.

Ueber deutsche Volksetymologie. Von Karl Gustaf Andresen. (Heilbronn: Henninger. 1876.)—Dr. Andresen has done teachers and readers, both at home and in this country, a good service by thus putting into convenient book-shape his Bonn lectures upon the origin of the more puzzling

German vernacularisms. So far as we can judge, the work answers its purpose admirably. It gives within a small compass the explanation—so far as any has yet been obtained—of those curious terms which the student has to accept on the authority of his dictionary or his teacher, but which never cease to puzzle him by their discrepancy between form and meaning. Such words as *Salamander* ("einen S. reiben"), *Pumpnickel*, *ungefähr*, *Hugstolz*, *Bockbier*, *Salbadern* may serve as examples. A curious bit of contemporaneous word-formation is the Berlin Stock-Exchange phrase for *Bismarck*—namely, *baissé-marc*, which might be rendered not inappropriately by "bear in the gold-room." It is almost as classic, in its way, as the '48 perversion of the notorious Hessian minister *Hasspflug* into *Hessen-fluch*, or Fischart's *Jesu-wider* for *Jesuter*. A perusal of the work is not only informing, but entertaining. We see the illiterate folk-spirit struggling with foreign or obsolete forms, and hammering them into the most fantastic shapes to suit its practical wants. Dr. Andresen's studies are in accordance with the principles of the most advanced linguistic research, and may be regarded as thoroughly trustworthy. A full alphabetical index facilitates the use of the work, which we commend especially to those who are interested in the study of the language, but are not in a position to consult the dictionaries of Grimm, Schmitthenner-Weygand, or the countless monographs cited by the author.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bancroft (G.), History of the United States. Vol. V. Revised edition. (Little, Brown & Co.)
Batchelder (C. R.), History of the Eastern Diocese. Vol. I. (Claremont)
Bliss (F. C.), Our Country and Government for One Hundred Years. (F. C. Bliss & Co.)
Crooks (Rev. G. B.), Life and Letters of the Rev. John McClintock. (Neison & Phillips)
De Vinne (T. L.), Invention of Printing, *awd.* Parts I.-III. (Francis Hart & Co.)

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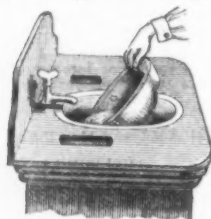
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